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# China Report

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24 December 1985

## CHINA REPORT

### RED FLAG

No 21, 1 NOVEMBER 1985

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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## ENHANCE OUR UNDERSTANDING OF REFORM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] What is the present situation regarding reform? People have different comments and views about this subject, which is natural. The same thing happened when we began the reform in the rural area. Later, due to the fact that we achieved results in the reform, people gradually reached a unanimity of views concerning the issue. Urban reform is more complicated than rural reform. Mistakes are hard to avoid. We should take risks. At present, the situation is generally good. We have made comparatively smooth progress. With regard to some problems which occurred in the course of reform during the preceding stage, we should make an overall analysis of them. Some problems were solved within a short period of time, while some problems only happened within a limited scope. These have been or are being solved. Some problems are more complicated (such as the excessive speed of growth and excessive scope of capital construction). Efforts are being made to gradually solve these problems. The occurrence of new problems of various kinds enables us to profoundly realize the complexity of the rural reform and to have a comprehensive understanding of problems such as microscopic invigoration, macroscopic control, and so on. We learn what problems will occur under which circumstances. This has helped us to accumulate experience in solving relevant problems. There is no doubt that this will be useful to our future reform. While observing the situation in reform, we should apply more dialectics. We should be careful to avoid being one-sided. Of course, this does not mean that we may neglect minor and nonessential problems or that we may pay no attention to solving them conscientiously. On the contrary, solving these problems is a matter of primary importance which concerns whether we can maintain and develop the favorable situation in reform. During the previous period we exerted great efforts in this respect, and we will continue to do so in the future. However, when we are correcting our defects in work and stressing the necessity of solving problems, some people might misunderstand us and wrongly regard minor and non-essential problems as essential problems which will affect the situation as a whole. This will shake people's confidence in reform. If we fail to overcome such erroneous views in a timely manner, it will be harmful to the promotion of reform.

As long as we persist in giving first priority to reform in accordance with the spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates, seize the present opportune time, take an unswerving position, and dare to carry out exploration, we will certainly make greater achievements as a result of efforts exerted in another 3 to 5 years. Facts will vividly prove that the entire economic structural reform with emphasis on the urban economy is correct and successful. We are not blindly optimistic in saying so. We make such an assertion on good grounds: 1) We have gained experience in rural reform. 2) We have charted the direction and worked out the principles and blueprints for urban economic reform. They are correct and are gradually worked out on the basis of summing up historical experiences, drawing on foreign experiences, studying our actual conditions, repeatedly considering them in practice, and pooling the wisdom of the masses. 3) Our guiding principle and attitude toward reform is practical and realistic. In other words, when we discover problems, we will solve them expeditiously. When there are mistakes, we will correct them expeditiously. We constantly sum up experiences and proceed from reality in all tasks. We take practice as a criterion for testing the correctness of our theories. This will help us avoid making gross mistakes in the course of carrying out the reform. 4) Our reform is in line with the demands of the development of the productive forces. Since we are doing the best thing for our country and people, we enjoy the support of the people. We will certainly succeed in doing things which conform with the interests of the people and are supported by them. Basically, the momentum of reform is good. We have an optimistic future for the reform.

Correct actions should be guided by correct thinking. Certain mistakes committed during the preceding period were mainly due to the fact that some of our comrades failed to conscientiously study the decision of the CPC Central Committee on economic structural reform. For example, some people wrongly thought that reform meant making more money. Hence, they followed dishonest practices at the expense of the interests of the state and consumers. We should conscientiously organize our people to study well the documents of the National Conference of Party Delegates. We should review the reform in the past year and study again the decision of the CPC Central Committee on reform and important expositions on reform by Deng Xiaoping and other members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. It is absolutely necessary for us to do so in order to unify and enhance our understanding. Through study, we should gain a correct understanding and comprehension of the orientation, measures, and policies for reform; the relationship between reform and upholding the four basic principles; the relationship between reform and building of spiritual civilization; the relationship between microscopic invigoration and macroscopic control; the relationship between direct and indirect control; the relationship among daring to blaze new trails, implementing the policies, and observing laws and discipline; the relationship between increasing the economic revenue of the units concerned and subordinating partial and local interests to the interests of the state, people, and the whole; the relationship between speed and results; and so on. We should handle these relations still better in practice.

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## MAKE FURTHER EFFORTS TO INVIGORATE LARGE AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 pp 3-5

[Article by Lu Dong [0712 2639]]

[Text] The Seventh 5-Year Plan period is a crucial one in the overall reform of China's economic structure. We should strive to lay, over the next 5 years or more, a basic foundation for the establishment of a socialist economic structure with Chinese characteristics, full of vigor and vitality. To this end, it is absolutely necessary to persist in reform and to make further efforts to invigorate enterprises, especially large and medium state-owned ones, so that they can truly become socialist commodity manufacturers and dealers that are relatively independent in management and responsible for their own profits and losses. At the recent National Conference of Party Delegates, in his explanation of the proposal for the Seventh 5-Year Plan, Comrade Zhao Ziyang explicitly pointed out: We must "increase the ability of large and medium state-owned enterprises to develop on their own. We must prevent a situation from developing in which the more work these key enterprises do the more difficult things become for them. Instead, they should be increasingly invigorated. Herein lies our hope for future economic development."

According to statistical bureau figures, there were 6,339 state-owned large and medium-sized enterprises throughout the country by the end of 1984. Of these, 1,845 are large enterprises and 4,494 are medium ones. Viewed from the angle of trades, energy, raw materials, machinery, electronics, communications, and transport enterprises account for 84 percent of the 1,845 large enterprises. These large and medium enterprises account for only 1.45 percent of the total number of industrial enterprises throughout the country but their fixed assets account for 65.4 percent and the taxes and profits they turn over to the state account for 65.1 percent of the nation. The large and medium enterprises undertake most of the state mandatory plans and are a major source of state revenue. Symbolizing China's technological level, they are the "mainstay" of the national economy as a whole and a crystallization of the achievements of the Chinese people's arduous struggle and construction in the past 30-odd years. If we fail to invigorate these key enterprises and to provide them with the ability to transform and develop themselves, it will be impossible to establish a socialist economic structure with Chinese characteristics and full of vigor and vitality, to provide our

economy with "staying power," and to achieve the grand objective of quadruplication.

However, the present conditions in these key enterprises are causing great anxiety. An outstanding problem is backward products, technologies, and management skills. Take the machinery industry which undertakes the task of equipping various departments of the national economy as an example. Only a little over 20 percent of its products come up to the advanced world level of the 1970's or the early 1980's. The director of the Luoyang Ball-bearing Plant recently told me that by 1990, at the current pace of technological transformation, they would still only be able to turn out products at the world technological level of the early 1970's. With the technology of ballbearing production at such a low level, how can we improve our machinery products to the international level of the late 1970's or the early 1980's? In such old industrial bases as Liaoning, Shanghai, and Tianjin, the depreciation of fixed assets in many large and medium enterprises is about 50 percent. The serious aging of equipment and technology has adversely affected the development of production. The conditions in other parts of the country are more or less the same. After more than 3 decades, the 156 industrial products set up during the First 5-Year Plan period have grown old. We must transform them. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, small enterprises and collective enterprises have been relatively invigorated through reforms. Taken as a whole, the large and medium enterprises have also been invigorated to some extent. However, the enterprises that have truly been invigorated and have started to effect a virtuous circle are mostly those which have implemented special policies or have a good management system, such as the Shoudu Iron and Steel Works and the No 2 automobile factory. These enterprises account for only about 20 percent of the total. But most enterprises have not been invigorated. Some are even in a fairly difficult situation. If we fail to change this situation as quickly as possible, our technological gap with the advanced countries in the world will not be narrowed but further widened. It can be said that we have come to the point where we simply must invigorate large and medium enterprises.

The principal causes for the lack of vitality in large and medium enterprises are as follows: First, their tax burden is excessively heavy, their rate of depreciation is excessively low, and their external conditions are poor. Since the implementation of the new classified depreciation law, the depreciation time limit of the technological equipment of state-owned enterprises has been shortened a little but it is still about 20 years. Large and medium enterprises ought to contribute more to the state, by defraying expenses for national defense and cultural and educational undertakings, repairing and building infrastructures, and paying for the necessary welfare facilities. However, their tax burden should be appropriate. With the exception of the petrochemical, automobile, petroleum, and steel industries, the per capita profit retained by large enterprises is only 460-odd yuan. The enterprises with a retained profit of less than 300 yuan per capita account for about 40 percent. The profit retained by the enterprises also has to be used to pay energy and transport expenses, to subscribe for national bonds, to issue bonuses to workers and staff members, and to pay



for various other expenses. Consequently, there is little money left for the transformation of enterprises. Second, the low managerial levels still make it difficult to bring into full play the latent potentialities and superiorities of the enterprises and the enthusiasm of the vast numbers of workers and staff members. Poor product quality and high material consumption are the vital weakness of our industrial enterprises and herein lie their potentialities. By vigorously raising the managerial levels, improving product quality, and reducing material consumption in production cost, we can greatly improve economic results. Therefore, in invigorating large and medium enterprises, we should primarily begin with the two aspects mentioned above. Naturally, bureaucratism and the fetters of different departments and regions in the superstructure are also largely responsible for the lack of vitality in large and medium enterprises. These should be gradually solved in the course of the reform.

On the whole, in order to further invigorate large and medium enterprises, we should persist in carrying out reform and unremittingly improve enterprise quality. Not only should we create a good business environment for the enterprises externally but, more important, we should put in a lot of effort to improve enterprise management and operations and to raise the managerial levels. According to the spirit of the instructions of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council and the results of our investigation, we should indeed do a lot of work in order to invigorate large and medium enterprises. At present we should concentrate on grasping the following things:

1. We should gradually increase the ability of the enterprises to transform and develop themselves and create a good business environment for the invigoration of large enterprises. First, it is necessary to reduce regulation taxes on large and medium enterprises according to different circumstances. Now, some enterprises having advanced management levels and comparatively little potential often have to pay high regulation taxes. Therefore, reducing the regulation taxes also represents a support and an encouragement to these advanced enterprises. We should strive to solve this question in the next few years in line with the instructions of the State Council. In raising the rate of depreciation, we should pay back to the enterprises 30 percent of the depreciation charge previously handed over to the state and, at the same time, make further efforts to raise the rate of depreciation of the machinery, electronics, chemical, textile, and light industries. We should continue to extend credits at discount rates to those enterprises which yield better social results, which earn much foreign exchange through exports, and which are given top priority for their development. Second, we should be determined to solve the problems of indiscriminately apportioning expenses and raising funds and to reduce or to abolish the inequitable burdens of enterprises. Third, we should properly handle the intervention of intermediate levels in the enterprises and resolutely abolish those intermediate levels, such as various companies of an administrative character, which are detrimental to the invigoration of enterprises. With regard to companies run as an enterprise, we should administer them at different levels and through decentralized power so that they can effectively serve enterprises.

2. We should vigorously promote technological advance. The CPC Central Committee and the State Council have made it clear that in the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and even in the early period of the Eighth 5-Year Plan the focus of our construction should be conscientiously switched to the technological transformation, reconstruction, and expansion of existing enterprises. This is entirely correct. The next 10 years is a crucial period for changing our backward technology, which is the vital weakness of our enterprises. In invigorating large and medium enterprises, we should concentrate on expanding the decisionmaking power of enterprises and speeding of technological transformation. If we expand the decisionmaking power of enterprises without giving them the necessary ability to carry out technological transformation, the enterprises cannot produce competitive products with backward technologies and skills. Then it will still be impossible to invigorate the enterprises. For this reason, during the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, we should carry out technological transformation in 1,000 or a large number of key, large enterprises by stages, by groups, and in a planned way. This is the focus of our work in technological transformation. Genuine efforts should be made to arm these enterprises with modern technology and equipment and to constantly carry out technological transformation as technology advances. We should not pause after carrying out some transformation and make another attempt at it later when we cannot hold on any longer. Moreover, the research institutes under various ministries, which engage in the development of new products and technologies should also be transferred to large enterprises as soon as possible so that scientific research can be closely integrated with production. Technological transformation should be centered on the upgrading of products and the transformation of technologies and equipment to ensure product quality and attainment of better economic results. Naturally, we should also continue to transform small and medium enterprises. Over the past 3 years, we have imported 3,000 new technological projects. Some of them have gone into production and others are still under construction. These small and medium projects will certainly play a very good role in promoting technological advance. Moreover, we are working out plans to import another 3,000 small and medium technological projects in order to further raise the technological levels of small and medium enterprises. However, it should be pointed out that technological transformation in the Seventh 5-Year Plan period should focus on large and medium enterprises.

3. We should exercise quality control in an all-round way. We should resolutely place improvement of product quality in a conspicuous position and unremittingly exercise quality control in an all-round way. In the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, we should work out a plan for this and carry out this work conscientiously in order to considerably improve our product quality. At present, we should concentrate on the following four tasks: First, straighten out our guiding thinking and uphold the principle of "quality first." Second, consolidate and develop the achievements in enterprise consolidation, do a good job of basic work, enforce technological requirements and labor discipline, perfect various management regulations and systems, and strengthen inspection, supervision, and assessment. Third, perfect the economic responsibility system within the enterprises with the quality responsibility system as the main content, institute a

quality control system, and improve the methods of assessments and of rewards and penalties. Fourth, establish an all-round quality control system with product quality as the main content.

4. We should drastically reduce the material consumption in production. At present, material consumption accounts for 80-90 percent of production cost while wages and bonuses account for more than 10 percent. The greatest potential for improving economic results lies in reducing the material consumption in production. For this reason, great efforts should be made to develop new products, to improve product designs, and to use new skills. Particular efforts should be made to popularize modern management methods, to improve enterprise operations and management, to revise various material consumption quotas, and to vigorously utilize resources in a comprehensive way. We should also use the methods of systems engineering to formulate a complete set of systems and measures for reducing material consumption so as to arouse the initiative of the enterprises, workers, and staff members in reducing material consumption.

5. We should improve the quality of workers and staff members. Improving the quality of workers and staff members is essential to the improvement of enterprise quality. Greater efforts should be made to strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization. In his speech at the recent National Conference of Party Delegates, Comrade Deng Xiaoping incisively pointed out: "The building of material civilization will suffer delays and setbacks unless we promote the building of spiritual civilization as well. We can never succeed in revolution and construction if we rely on material conditions alone. In the past, however small or weak our party was, and whatever difficulties it faced, we always maintained great fighting capacity thanks to our faith in Marxism and communism. With common ideals we have strict discipline. Now, as in the past and in the future, that is our real strength." Problems abound in the contingent of workers and staff members, such as the training of cadres and workers, the organization of teams and groups, distribution according to work, concurrent jobs, ideological and political work, and so on. With regard to these problems, we should organize people from various quarters to conduct thorough investigation and study, put forward complete and feasible methods for their solution, and persevere in paying close attention to them in order to improve the political, professional, technical, and cultural quality of the workers and staff members in an all-round way.

6. We should improve enterprise leadership structure. It is necessary to gradually institute the director (manager) responsibility system in enterprises. We should carry out the principle of separating the work of party and government and persist in the practice of administrative bodies making decisions on management and operations. When instituting the director responsibility system, we should also avoid slipping back into the old "system of one-man leadership." In order to give scope to collective wisdom more satisfactorily and to prevent enterprises from making mistakes on major policy decisions, it seems necessary for especially large enterprises or associated enterprises among different regions to set up boards of directors, which serve as decisionmaking bodies. Large and medium

enterprises in general may set up management committees headed by the directors. When making major policy decisions, the directors should obtain the approval of the management committees. Moreover, in management and operations, it is necessary to bring into full play the role of enterprise party committees in ensuring and supervising the implementation of party policies and to improve and strengthen the party's ideological and political work.

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CSO: 4004/17

## SHIJIAZHUANG'S COMPREHENSIVE REFORM OF THE 'COLLISION AND REBOUND' TYPE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 pp 6-9

[Article by Jia Ran [6328 3544], secretary of the Shijiazhuang City CPC Committee]

[Text] The purpose of the comprehensive reform of the economic structure, which is focused on the cities, is to develop social productive forces and to speed up socialist modernization by reforming the production relations and by putting an end to those things and links in the superstructure which impede the development of productive forces. Thus, reforms must be in keeping with the objective laws governing economic development and must be focused on the revitalization of enterprises. This is the fundamental understanding gained by Shijiazhuang city in the course of the reform of its economic management system over the past year or so.

### I

The reform of the economic structure is a complicated piece of systems engineering. How should we go about carrying out reforms? Should we first "strike at" the administrative organs before revitalizing the enterprises? These two problems have been the first ones confronting the leading bodies of the Shijiazhuang City CPC Committee and the Shijiazhuang City Government since their readjustment in the fall of 1983. According to the basic tenets of historical materialism: Production relations are determined by productive forces; a superstructure is determined by its economic base; and the production relations and the superstructure in turn react on the productive forces and the economic base. This principle, which reflects the law governing the basic contradictions in society, was confounded by the "leftist" ideology in the past. Consequently, many people have had the wrong idea that so long as we can constantly transform the production relations and the superstructure, we can give impetus to social progress, without paying attention to the problem of whether or not this "transformation" is in accord with the development of productive forces. Influenced by this "leftist" ideology, Shijiazhuang city did not regard the revitalization of its enterprises as an ideological guide nor as a starting point for its reforms in the course of readjusting its economic management organs on several past occasions. Taking no account of the enterprises' desire for development, it first transformed various organs by merging them or breaking

them up. The upgrading and downgrading of its enterprises and the distribution and transfer of power were confined by the subordinative relations between various enterprises. We can take a look at what happened in 1978. In that year, by administrative means, the city authorities put 116 district enterprises under city administration and established 12 corporations. As a result, there was an additional organizational level and the enterprises had another "mother-in-law" to listen to. People did not like this. In addition, the development of productive forces was impeded rather than given impetus.

In order to find out more about reforms, in addition to summing up historical experience, the Shijiazhuang City CPC Committee and the Shijiazhuang City Government also drew lessons from the rural reforms and launched reform pilot projects in the enterprises. In 1983, 16 industrial and communications enterprises applied the system of contracted economic responsibilities on a trial basis and the economic results were remarkable. In 1983, the gross output value of these 16 enterprises increased by 21 percent and their profits increased by 78.6 percent compared with those in 1982. The profits made by each bus owned by the city transport bureau rose from 5,200 yuan in the past to 16,000 yuan. The profits made by the bureau in that year totaled more than 9.9 million yuan, which is 4 times that in 1981. The departments in charge of these enterprises were not too anxious to change the trademarks and names. Rather, they tried their best to provide conditions for the implementation of the system of contracted responsibilities in the enterprises, thus adding to the vitality of these enterprises and giving impetus to the development of productive forces.

Both positive and negative experiences have contributed enormously to our understanding of things. Being directly responsible for the development of social productive forces and technological advance, the enterprises are the "cells" of the national economy and should be full of vitality. Thus, we have decided that in the course of the current reform, we should totally discard the past practice of doing nothing except disregarding the need for the development of productive forces, changing names, merging and abolishing organs, and focusing our attention on the jurisdiction over various enterprises and that we should decentralize power, simplify administrative procedures, and make the administrative organs serve the enterprises. This means that at present, we must keep our hands off the organs. We will first correct the functional departments' thinking about their functions, emancipate them from the fetters of "leftist" ideas, and concentrate our energy on supporting the enterprises' reforms. In the course of this reform, the enterprises will inevitably find themselves in conflict with some currently effective regulations formulated by the economic management organs. We refer to this conflict as "collision [zhuang ji--2326 2345]." This "collision" will impel the management organs to draw up plans for expanding the enterprises' decisionmaking power in the light of the need to revitalize them. When these plans "rebound" back to the enterprises, their vitality will be correspondingly augmented. As a result, they will impose new demands and impel the organs and departments directly above them to carry out further reforms and to further decentralize power. Through this process, which is characterized by alternate collision and rebounding, we can enable

the reform of the urban economic structure to develop and spread from a few key points to a vast area, that is, from some "cells" of the national economy to its entire "body." We refer to this method as comprehensive reforms of the "collision and rebound type."

## II

In the course of its comprehensive reform of the "collision and rebound" type, Shijiazhuang city has decentralized power vertically, established horizontal ties, and comprehensively applied economic levers in order to make macroeconomic control a success. These three steps differ in emphasis. However, they are consistent with one another.

The first step taken has been to decentralize power to each level in order to enable the enterprises to become relatively independent commodity producers. In early 1984, after the city CPC committee made up its mind to further emancipate its thinking and to make the reform of the economic structure a success, many enterprises successively asked to be allowed to apply the system of contracted responsibilities and to be given decision-making power in the areas of personnel management, business management, and distribution. All this "collided" with those outmoded conventions and regulations which allow various departments to strictly and inflexibly control the enterprises, which allow the authorities to appoint cadres, which allow nobody except the planning commissions and committees to assign production targets, which allow the finance bureaus to monopolize the distribution of funds, and which encourages egalitarianism in distribution. In the light of this "collision," the city CPC committee and the city government recommended that the management departments should serve economic reforms, effect ideological breakthroughs, and delegate power to the enterprises. In order to prevent "decentralization from resulting in the total absence of control," the leading comrades of the city CPC committee and city government and cadres of various departments visited various grassroots units to conduct in-depth investigations, solicited opinions from the enterprises, and, in the light of the need to revitalize the economy, speedily formulated more than 300 reform measures on two different occasions. These measures are focused on decentralization. First, enterprises are empowered to supervise their cadres. On the basis of the principle of controlling less but controlling well, we have decided that the enterprises should be empowered to supervise their cadres as far as production is concerned. Factory directors and managers can be assigned by the departments in charge or be chosen from among those who "recommend themselves." In addition, they can also be democratically elected or be openly recruited. However, whoever assumes contracted responsibilities is required to present a plan, to elaborate on it, and to defend it. The plan will then be submitted to the workers congress for approval. Second, the enterprises are empowered to make their own management decisions. The city CPC committee and the city government have decided that the departments in charge should assign production plans only to those large enterprises owned by the whole people and to those enterprises responsible for producing certain of the country's key products. Small enterprises owned by the whole people, collective enterprises, and those responsible for producing ordinary products are given a

free hand and they are to make their own production arrangements. And third, the problem of distribution between the state and the enterprises and between the enterprises and their workers has been clarified. Urged by the city CPC committee and the city government, the functional departments have laid down a plan which combines the implementation of the system of contracted responsibilities with the substitution of taxes for the delivery of profits, thus ensuring a steady increase in state revenue. This can help us enhance the enterprises' vitality. In addition, they have laid down specific regulations on how to relax policies and decentralize power in regard to the enterprises' recruitment systems, premium distribution, and management. These measures have created favorable conditions for the implementation of the system of contracted responsibilities in the enterprises. As a result, 98 percent of the industrial enterprises, building firms, and communications enterprises subordinate to the city and city departments and 99 percent of the commercial enterprises have speedily applied various systems of contracted responsibilities. Now, the enterprises have their own responsibilities, rights, and benefits and they are becoming independent economic bodies with much greater vitality.

Second, the establishment and development of horizontal ties are a favorable condition for the development of our commodity economy and for the further revitalization of our enterprises. In transforming themselves and in seeking development, these enterprises, with their new decisionmaking power, have come into conflict with the old economic structure, which confined them in the past. They are calling for an end to the requirement that "all enterprises must be complete in themselves regardless of their size," for cooperation between specialized departments, and for an end to the management system characterized by the presence of barriers between departments and regions at different levels, the separation of the rural from the urban areas, ownership by the departments, and the presence of regional barriers. They also want the commodity circulation channels unclogged and economic and technological exchanges with other parts of the country and other parts of the world expanded. In the light of this new "collision," we have organized the departments concerned to formulate more than 400 new regulations, which are focused on the following three things: First, the enterprises are encouraged to form economic combines with enterprises at the same levels on the basis of the economic relations that naturally exist among themselves and according to the principle of voluntary participation, mutual benefit, and consulting one another as equals. The departments concerned can only act as "go-betweens" and they are not supposed to "artificially match the enterprises." In the course of forming economic combines, there will not be any changes in the ownership of the enterprises, in the subordinative relations between the departments and the enterprises, or in the channels through which taxes and profits are delivered to the finance departments. Second, the commodity circulation channels will be unclogged in the hope that we can thus facilitate commodity circulation and establish a multichannel open circulation system characterized by the presence of many different economic components and management methods but few links. We have abolished all the nucleus commercial centers [shang ye zhong xin dian--0794 2812 0022 1800 1648], merged the Grade 2 and Grade 3 wholesale stations, and established 10 open trade



centers and 4 agricultural and sideline products wholesale markets. In addition, we have simplified the procedures gone through by peasants making business trips to the city, given the departments concerned greater power to approve the designs of housing projects and the peasants' construction of houses for sale, and made things convenient for local units running commercial firms or operating in the catering industry, the building industry, and other services as well as for representatives from units in other parts of the country. And third, we are enthusiastically opening the city to other parts of the country and other parts of the world. We have established a city economic development center. We stress the need to make the best use of our favorable conditions and the production of quality products and those products which are in short supply. We have given greater power to various units to approve technical transformation projects, made the authorization of approvals a simpler matter, and empowered units at lower levels to introduce technologies, facilities, and capital from abroad or from other parts of the country to carry out technical transformation and to add to their production capacities. Thanks to all this, conditions are now favorable for the establishment of ties between enterprises on the same levels. The city now has more than 600 economic combines of various types. Of these, 19 are ones transcending trades, regions, and departments. They are large, open economic combines producing high quality products. More than 500 units from 20 provinces, cities, and autonomous regions have participated in forming them. These new economic combines have introduced new production capacities at almost no cost (according to the statistics compiled by 19 industrial combines, their gross industrial output value in the first half of this year was 62.6 percent higher than that in the first half of last year, their profits increased by 1.2 times, the total amount of taxes and profits delivered to the finance departments increased by 1.3 times, and the increases in these three areas were much greater than the city's average figures). They have contributed to speeding up the transformation of the city's closed economy into an open economy and to the changes in the city role.

And third, by applying various economic levers, we have combined the revitalization of the enterprises with the planned control exercised by the state. In order to make conditions favorable for the protracted, stable development of the enterprises, it is necessary to make sure, by macro-economic means, that the major proportional relations in the national economy are in accord with one another. Thus, the further we revitalize the economy the more important is the need to strengthen macroeconomic control. So, with this idea in mind, we do not always positively respond to the "collision" between ourselves and the enterprises at the expense of our principles. Rather, we always do things according to the laws governing the development of a planned commodity economy, try to make macro-economic control a success, and make microeconomic control more flexible. We have adopted a series of measures for this purpose. In controlling the use of consumption funds, we adhere to the principle of "strict control in some areas but flexibility in others." This is to ensure an increase in state revenue. If state revenue does increase, the enterprises will be allowed to "seek development by their own means." The amounts of profits to be retained by the enterprises and distribution of premiums will be

calculated according to the relevant regulations formulated by the State Council. In addition, vigorous efforts will be devoted to supervision and inspection. Those who infringe on the interests of the state and consumers by improper means will be sternly dealt with. In controlling investment, we adhere to the principle of "strict control in three areas, flexibility in another three areas, and support for five things" in view of the current economic situation. This means that we should tighten the control of consumption funds, but be flexible with projects which absorb smaller amounts of investment and which yield results quickly; tighten the control of investment in new projects, but be flexible with technical transformation; and tighten the control of state-run enterprises and general-purpose projects, but be flexible with projects jointly financed by Chinese and foreigners; and that we should support those export projects which have yielded foreign exchange income, support the production of those badly needed products, support those projects which can enable our products to speedily enter the international market, support those key construction projects in the energy industry, the production of raw and processed materials, and communications, and support those projects which can assimilate new technologies quickly. In price control, we now control the prices of 50 products out of the 1,700 previously controlled by the city authorities and allow the enterprises to fix the prices for all the products except those 50. Second, by giving play to the role of state-run commercial enterprises as a major channel, we actively participate in market regulation and regulate prices on the market. And third, we strengthen price inspection by adopting various measures. Regarding tax management, we make allowances for those enterprises producing key new products and those operating in the tertiary industry by reducing or remitting their taxes for a fixed period. We will make tax evaders pay their due amounts of taxes and impose fines on them. We do not favor the outmoded practice of recentralizing the decentralized power on hearing about macroeconomic control and refusing to decentralize the power that should be decentralized. Rather, we strive, by economic means, to gradually harmonize various economic relations and, by means of macroeconomic control, to prevent the enterprises from blindly developing extensive expanded reproduction, to encourage them to tap their own potentials by developing intensive expanded reproduction, and to work out a new way in which we can produce more things and create more wealth with less input in order to encourage the revitalization of the micro-economy by means of macroeconomic control. Thanks to all this, the city's economic construction is beginning to develop steadily and in a harmonious manner.

Fundamentally speaking, the rather smooth course of Shijiazhuang city's comprehensive reform of the "collision and rebound" type is attributable to its conformity with the objective laws governing economic development. The "collision" in "collision and rebound" actually means the demands imposed on the superstructure and production relations by the development of productive forces and the "rebound" means the efforts made to eliminate those things and links in production relations and the superstructure which impede the development of productive forces. In this way, productive forces will be viewed as the most vigorous and most revolutionary factor and people will find the economic laws tangible and not abstract and can do their

work more effectively. In 1984, the city's gross industrial output value and revenue were 15.3 percent and 12 percent more than those in the previous year. In the first half of this year, its gross industrial output value and revenue were 14.4 percent and 17.1 percent more than those in the first half of last year.

We have just embarked on the reforms. Formidable tasks, new situations, and new problems are yet to come. We should devote further efforts to our study of the tenets of Marxism and, under the guidance provided by the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Economic Structure," conduct in-depth investigations, constantly sum up experience, and strive to make the various reforms a further success.

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## FREEDOM OF CREATION IN THE PEOPLE'S ACTIVITIES TO CREATE HISTORY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 pp 9-13

[Article by Wei Jianlin [5898 1696 2653]]

[Text] The report to the 12th CPC National Congress cites Lenin's well-known words that vigorous and creative socialism is established by the masses of people themselves. This is the key to understanding socialism and understanding the socialist modernization program that we have been carrying out. It is also the key to understanding the issue of freedom of creation that Comrade Hu Qili reiterated on behalf of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee in his congratulatory speech to the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Writers Association.

Freedom of creation is not an invention by the proletariat. Before Marx and Engels, generation after generation of writers and artists longed for freedom of creation and fought steadfastly for it, and the bourgeoisie once wrote such freedom into its program of struggle, announcements, and laws. However, only socialism has turned it into a real freedom in essence instead of a freedom merely in specific forms in the past. As Marx and Engels time and again pointed out, under a system of private ownership, the slogan of freedom and equality will ultimately become something that exists only in name. In order to thoroughly realize freedom and equality, the abolishment of the system of private ownership is indispensable. In the provisional constitution that Marx drafted for the International Workers Association--the First International--he mentioned that the private ownership was the root cause for all the poverty in the society, mental humiliation, and political dependence. Engels clearly pointed out: "True freedom and equality mean communism." ("Progress of Social Reform on the Continent," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 576) The victory of the socialist system and the establishment of public ownership of means of production enable the masses of people to enter a brand-new era in which they become masters of their country, make efforts to discover the law that governs the movement of the society, and consciously carry out activities to create history in accordance with the law. Freedom of creation not only means reflecting these activities that create history in the vast realm of art with diversified creative personality, but also means becoming an organic part of the activities that create history.

# I

The following events did not take place by accident. Between January and February 1842, Marx began to take part in actual social and political struggle with his article entitled "Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction." Two months later, he wrote another article entitled "Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Provincial Assembly. (First Article)." Those two articles, which appear at the beginning of Volume 1 of the "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," are precisely the articles that take a firm stand in defending the interests of the people, disclose the essence and characteristics of the freedom of mental labor, and succinctly expound on the issue of freedom of the press and freedom of the writing profession in a broad sense. At that time, he had to fight both the feudal aristocrats and the defenders of aristocrats who opposed freedom of the press, and against the bourgeoisie's attempt to regard this freedom as a "trade freedom" which was to be obtained in order to earn money. In his view, the things that were freely published were the wise eyes of the spirit of the people, the sonorous tie that linked individuals with the state and the whole world, the mouthpiece of the spirit of the people, the public manifestation of this spirit, and the continuously increasing spiritual wealth that continued to emerge from reality and flow back to reality. As Lenin said, at that time, Marx was switching from idealism to materialism and from being a revolutionary democrat to being a communist. Soon this profound idea that linked the freedom of the press and the freedom of mental labor inseparably with the interests of the people, as an important viewpoint that Marx adhered to and continued to develop and perfect all his life, was put on the firm foundation of historical materialism.

There was another event in the past which did not take place by accident either. According to Klara Zetkin, after the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin had a long talk with her on the issue of literature and art. Lenin pointed out that under the soviet system, every artist could "write freely" for the millions of laboring people. At the same time, he time and again stressed that art belonged to the people and attached great importance to the task of raising the general level of education and culture. "The work will lay a cultural foundation (on the precondition of ensuring the supply of bread), on which a truly new and great communist art will grow which will determine its form by its contents. In this area, our intellectuals are faced with tremendous and most valuable tasks. Understanding these tasks is their bounden duty. The proletarian revolution has also opened for them the path leading to freedom and enabled them to lift themselves out of the miserable living conditions that the 'Communist Manifesto' so well describes." ("Lenin on Freedom of Creation," RED FLAG, No 12, 1985) In Lenin's opinion, that writers are granted the power to write freely in light of their ideals is not simply equal to the actual attainment of freedom. They will not be able to attain real freedom unless they consciously strike root in the cultural soil of the masses of people and unite the masses and improve, through their labor, the masses in terms of the masses' feelings, thoughts, and desires. "Lenin understood the masses as Marx did." This conclusion by Zetkin is entirely correct.

A review of these past events is necessary because both Marx and Lenin clearly grasped the laws governing social and literature and art development and held that we cannot study or solve the problem related to the freedom of creation and the problems related to the entire literature and art undertaking in disregard of the interests, feelings, thoughts, and desires of the people. True, we can study the problem related to freedom of creation and other literature and art problems from various angles. For example, we can study the special mentality when a writer works out the plot and writes his works, the effects of a writer's feelings, thoughts, or even temporary mood on his writing, the formation of a personal style of writing, the inheritance and development of artistic forms and style for different writers, and the problem of artistic appreciation. We should say that the research into these problems has always been a relatively weak link in our literature and art theory. However, we deeply believe that the deeper this research into the thousands of years of literature and art practice and the greater we respect the practice, the more able are we to prove the correctness of Marx' and Lenin's stand and methodology in studying literature and art problems.

## II

Both the development of freedom of creation and the development of literature and art are complicated social and historical phenomena affected by many factors. Therefore, we cannot think that the feudal rulers in the Yongzheng and Qianlong Reigns of the Qing Dynasty provided Cao Xueqin with freedom of creation. Nor can we think that the Russian serfdom in the 19th century provided freedom of creation for Aleksander Pushkin, Nikolai Gogol, Ivan S. Turgenev, Lev N. Tolstoy, and Anton Chekhov. Similarly, we cannot think that the northern warlords and KMT governments provided freedom of creation for Lu Xun. Those writers were able to write magnificent and immortal works that mark specific eras of the development of literature. This was because in addition to the degree of development of the society itself, the accumulation of literary experience, the artistic talents of those writers, and other reasons, in terms of their personal factors and their relations with the society, in the final analysis, this was because they had a very deep understanding of the life and people under the circumstances at these times. Lev Tolstoy called himself a defender of the 100 million peasants. Lenin said that the writer's thesis "reflected the ocean of the great people which surges from top to bottom. It reflects not only all its weak points, but also all its powerful aspects." ("Tolstoy and Proletarian Struggle," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 16, p 352) Maksim Gorki said that Tolstoy's works were documents about all that a great personality in the 19th century did for the purpose of seeking a position and cause for itself in Russian history. Lu Xun once sharply raised the question of whether a writer had to "regard himself as the center" or "the people as the principal part." In his opinion, the people, ancient or contemporary, who quietly immerse themselves in their work, have definite faith, do not cheat themselves, and forge ahead wave after wave in carrying out their struggle, are the backbone for China. When the above writers matched the people in their basic historical orientation and were deeply impressed by this identity, they were able to be freed to some extent from

the political pressure of the ruling authorities and the fetters of the ruling thoughts, obtain freedom of creation through their links with the people rather than the links with any other things, and obtain the life source that took shape in their day and that gave full play to their creative personality. Any era in which literature develops and prospers and in which all writers' freedom of creation is brought into full play, is an era in which deep relations are established between literature and the people.

History itself has put socialism onto the agenda for the people of all nationalities in our country and made it not only become a goal of struggle, but also an actual reality. Under the socialist system, the people are the subject of the historical movement. People's pioneering spirit, sense of responsibility, initiative, and other historical materialist ideas that disclose and reflect the laws of social development are of particularly great significance. Writers' freedom of creation of course should include a similar pioneering spirit, sense of responsibility, and initiative.

Even in the most subtle part of a writer's soul and feeling and even in the most secret part of the process of his creative work, we still cannot deny the existence of social and historical sources in things that are entirely personal for writers. We can give an example: Austrian philosopher Wilhelm Reich, a major representative of contemporary Freudian theory of psychoanalysis who upholds that the impetus of revolution is the "repressed energy attached to sexuality" and who was regarded by the West as a forerunner of the "revolutionary sex policy" and "sex liberation," on the one hand tries to turn social research into psychoanalysis, but on the other hand, he admits that the acts of an individual are also deeply socialized acts. In the process of social development, one should start from history to explain psychology and should not start from psychology to explain history. We should observe and study the freedom of creation for a writer as an individual from the angle of social consciousness and should not observe or study this freedom merely from the angle of this freedom itself. The value of freedom of creation for a writer as an individual lies precisely in the extent to which he reflects in his unique and creative artistic forms the life of the people of his day and their feelings, thoughts, and desires. Understanding and practicing so-called freedom of creation while separated from the people's activities to create history has never given rise to any really great works in the past and is particularly inconceivable today. In his congratulatory speech to the fourth congress of literary and art circles, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The artistic life of any progressive literature and art worker lies in his flesh-and-blood ties with the people. As soon as he forgets, neglects, or cuts off these ties, his artistic life will wither away." "Consciously finding materials, themes, plots, language, a poetic and picturesque quality in people's life, and nurturing oneself with the pioneering spirit of the people in their activities to create history is the basic path that leads to the prosperity of our socialist literature and art undertakings." We should say that this is also the basic path for realizing freedom of creation in our literature and art. In an important speech on literature and art issues that Comrade Hu Yaobang gave this year, he pointed out: At present the most vital interests of our nation and

people are to realize socialist modernization and to make our country prosperous and our people rich. He called this the "greatest theme." We should not talk about freedom of creation and other literature and art issues while separated from the great undertaking that our people are engaged in. Freedom of creation will be inconceivable if one forgets, neglects, or severs his flesh-and-blood ties with the people and forgets the "greatest theme" mentioned by Comrade Hu Yaobang. In the final analysis, freedom of creation can only be derived from the people and from the people's practice in building socialism. The deeper the roots our literature and art has struck, the fuller our writers can have their freedom of creation and the more prosperous our literature and art will be able to become.

### III

In his congratulatory speech, Comrade Hu Qili said that a writer is fully free to select his materials, themes, and methods of artistic presentation and to express his feelings, emotions, and thoughts, and "the party and state will provide necessary conditions and create the necessary environment and atmosphere for freedom of creation. At the same time, our writers should keep their thoughts and feelings and all their writing activities in step with the free environment provided by the party and state." Our party's scientific principle on respecting the laws that govern the society and art has won the support and trust of the vast number of writers and the people.

In mental labor like literature and art creation, a writer's creative personality, artistic accomplishments and sensibility, and ability of artistic depiction to a fairly great extent determine the characteristics of his works. Precisely as we cannot sever a writer's freedom of creation from the people's activities to create history, we also cannot deviate from the development and prosperity of our literature and art in talking about freedom of creation. Even an earthshaking great historic event, a perfectly correct idea, a lofty esthetic principle, or a healthy feeling cannot have a corresponding position in literature and art creation if it is not combined with the writer's feelings and experiences, if it is not permeated with the writer's soul, flesh, and blood, or if it has not deeply attracted and moved the writer and become something personal for the writer in his artistic thought. A writer can only use his own eyes to observe life, his own brain to consider and probe life, and his own method, which cannot be replaced by other people's methods, to begin the process of working out the plot of his work and writing it. If we liken the people's activities to create history to the sun, then every drop of dew under the sun has its own tint, and if we liken the people's activities to create history to soil, then every flower that grows on this soil has its own color. A true genius cannot sing in a birdcage, nor can real artistic inspiration be encouraged by orders, decrees, or other coercive means.

One of the major errors in our literature and art theory, policies, and practice since the founding of the PRC is our failure to attach sufficient importance to the special laws that govern art. Sometimes we even apply the social and political concepts that do not conform to our social and political reality, give a strained explanation about literature and art issues, and



formulate our literature and art principles in accordance with these concepts. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has been steadfastly correcting this error, returning to the Marxist ideological line of respecting social and artistic laws, and greatly promoting by practice the development of literature and art undertakings. In this sense, Comrade Hu Qili's thesis on the issue of freedom of creation in his congratulatory speech is precisely the logical outcome of the party's literature and art theory, policies, and practice since the 3d Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee.

Here, it is necessary to raise and discuss three issues.

First, freedom of creation is our party's firm and long-term literature and art principle, but it is not the only principle. It is a principle that is internally linked with the party's line and a series of its principles and policies. For example, there cannot be freedom of creation if it is divorced from the party's Marxist ideological line of proceeding from reality in doing things, integrating theory with practice, seeking truth from facts, and checking and developing truth through practice, and the party's political line of realizing the four modernizations and building our country into a highly civilized and highly democratic socialist country. If there is no freedom of creation in our literature and art sphere, it will be very difficult for us to effectively implement the party's principles of literature and art serving the people and socialism and of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." On the other hand, freedom of creation that is divorced from these principles is also inconceivable.

Second, the actual realization of freedom of creation needs both the initiation by the party and state and the personal efforts of the writers. This has raised the problem of "keeping in step" that Comrade Hu Qili mentioned in his congratulatory speech. This practice of "keeping in step" is mutual. We the political party of the working class, and the state, as a people's democratic dictatorship or proletarian dictatorship, represent the interests of the greatest majority of the masses of people, including writers, we have an ideal and goal in common with the masses and at the same time become protectors and patrons for artists, as Lenin discussed with Zetkin. The closer the writers' stand to that of the party and people, the more will they be able to get sufficient nutrition and vast scope for the realization of their freedom of creation. Similarly, the more resolutely and effectively the party and state initiate, protect, and support writers' freedom of creation, the more will they act in accordance with the people's interests and in accordance with the laws that govern the development of literature and art.

Third, as Lenin said when he talked with Zetkin, exercising one's right of freedom of creation according to one's ideals will also cause people to encounter confusion. Communists should never be in a state of inertia or allow the confusion to spread unchecked. In following this idea, an important task is to develop scientific literature and art criticism and comments. In Marx' early works on freedom of the press, he pointed out that the real check originating from the essence of freedom of the press was

criticism. The quality of a literature and art work should be judged by the people's practice and should not be judged by orders from the government, the personal interests of certain leaders or literature and art critics, or the writer's own feelings and evaluations. Directly exercising this right of judgment and scientifically collecting opinions from among the masses is what powerful Marxist criticism means. Criticism is a kind of exploration based on reality into literature and art laws and is a comradesly discussion on an equal footing. Just as we cannot allow any rude interference in literature and art creation from anywhere, we should not allow any rude interference in criticism from anywhere. In this sphere of science, what we need is a scientific attitude, and sound, trustworthy, conscientious, and meticulous arguments and proof. No practice of making subjective assertions, sneering, or hurling insults can help. In his congratulatory speech, Comrade Hu Qili said: "As literature and art creation should be free, so should criticism." This also reflects our party's respect for social and artistic laws.

In his discussion with Zetkin, Lenin pointed out that the closer art is to the people, the closer the latter to the former. Our party follows Marx' and Lenin's line in understanding and solving literature and art problems and closely links art with the people. We should say that as the thesis "the people need art and, even more, art needs the people" consists fully of the important idea that affirms the people's activities to create a new era, it can more accurately reveal the relations between art and the people under our socialist system, the nature of freedom of creation, and the actual impetus for the development and prosperity of our art. While resolutely opposing rude interference in art, our party time and again advocates and encourages writers to link their creation with the masses' great practice of socialist modernization and with the masses' tremendous enthusiasm and creative spirit of carrying out arduous struggle with high morale. It holds that this is a broad road for our writers to exercise their right of freedom of creation. This shows that our party has raised its level of Marxism and continued to improve its principles and policies in exercising its leadership over literature and art. We can also say that people's activities in creating history need freedom of literature and art creation, and even more, freedom of literature and art creation need people's activities of creating history. Only on this sound foundation can we give full play to freedom of creation, allow writers to enjoy to the full literature and art creation and thus enable the actual arrival of the golden age which will write a magnificent chapter in the history of China's socialist literature and art and in the history of the literature and art of the human race.

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THE BASIS FOR THE LONG-TERM STABILITY OF LITERATURE AND ART POLICY IS THE  
FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 pp 14-15

[Article by Shi Youxin]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, on the basis of setting wrong things right and in the light of new historical conditions, the CPC has revised, readjusted, and perfected a series of principles and policies to develop socialist literature and art. Practice has proven that the numerous principles and policies on literature and art adopted by the party in the new period are in conformity with the objective laws and have thus vigorously prompted the healthy development and unprecedented prosperity of literature and art undertakings. Therefore, preserving the long-term stability of the party policy on literature and art has become the common wish of socialist literature and art workers and all people with breadth of vision at home and abroad and an issue about which they are particularly concerned.

To preserve the long-term stability of the party policy on literature and art, it is necessary for the party leading departments at various levels and the vast numbers of literature and art workers to make unremitting, concerted efforts, to do a lot of day-to-day work in every specific field, and to continuously solve the numerous complicated and delicate problems in literature and art creation. Nevertheless, we hold that a more pressing topic at present, that is, a topic to which primary importance should be attached, is that we should gain a clearer understanding of, and achieve unity in thinking about, the fundamental proposition that the basis of the long-term stability of the literature and art policy is the four basic principles. Although the proposition is nothing new, it is of great, immediate significance at present.

Recently, in his speech to the National Conference of Party Delegates, Comrade Deng Xiaoping expounded on the continuity and stability of our party's various principles and policies. He pointed out: "What does the continuity of our party's policies actually mean? It means, of course, the continuity of the domestic and foreign policies of independence, democracy, legality, opening to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy, which we will by no means change. And all these policies are based

on the four basic principles. There is even less possibility of our changing or deviating from these principles." Although Comrade Deng Xiaoping did not mention directly the policy on literature and art in his speech, doubtless, it can be discerned between the lines. In other words, the "continuity" and "no change" of the party's numerous policies on literature and art are also based on the "four basic principles." In our opinion, only when the long-term stability of the literature and art policy is observed and studied from this ideological and theoretical high plane can one be considered to have already found the crux of the problem and to have grasped the essential aspect of a thing.

At present people often say that to preserve the long-term stability of the literature and art policy, it is necessary to adhere to the "double hundred" principle and to ensure the "freedom of creation" of literature and art workers. This is, of course, correct. There is no doubt that the "double hundred" principle is the party's long-term basic principle for developing socialist scientific and cultural undertakings and socialist literature and art freedom is the necessary guarantee for writers and artists to carry out creative activities that are of a strong individual character. This "will not be changed" and no one shall change it either. However, we must also note that the "double hundred" principle and "freedom of creation" are not abstract and isolated and neither are they put forth without any purpose. It is known to all that as the principle under which the party conscientiously uses the objective laws governing cultural development to lead and manage literature and art undertakings, the "double hundred" policy has been formulated to find ways and means of making socialist literature and art flourish, to guarantee the creative freedom of socialist writers and artists, and to bring every positive factor into play and make socialist literature and art creation flourish as far as possible so that literature and art can better serve the people and socialism. Upholding the four basic principles is indispensable to implementing the "double hundred" principle and the idea that "literary creation must be free." Without this fundamental requirement, the so-called "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and "creative freedom" would lose their proletarian character and degenerate into bourgeois liberalization.

It must be further mentioned that the four basic principles have not only determined or restricted the contents, objectives, and directions of the various specific principles and policies on literature and art but also provided the most essential social conditions for their implementation. Let us review what we have traversed in the past. It is true that during the "Great Cultural Revolution," the "double hundred" principle and "freedom of creation" were openly negated and mercilessly trampled upon, but this was chiefly because the party's four basic principles were most seriously sabotaged. In the new historical period, there has emerged an unprecedentedly lively and flourishing, fine situation on the literature and art front. True, this state of affairs is not unconnected with the correct implementation of the party's numerous principles and policies on literature and art (including the "double hundred" principle and the idea "literary creation must be free") but the more fundamental reason for it is that our society has consistently been moving ahead along the track of the four basic

principles. "If this were not the case, our society would be plunged into chaos, stability and unity would be out of the question, and the construction, reform, and rejuvenation of China would become no more than empty talk." In such a situation, the so-called "double hundred" principle and "freedom of creation" would all the more, without doubt, be out of the question. It can thus be seen that to maintain and make further advances on the already good situation on the literature and art front and to ensure the long-term stability of the party policy on literature and art, first of all, there must be a social environment characterized by stability and unity in which the four basic principles are upheld. Every socialist literature and art worker is duty-bound to undertake this great responsibility.

For this purpose, we are required to more willingly and effectively permeate our creative activities and take the biggest "social effect" of our works being helpful to the socialist modernization program, in particular the building of a socialist spiritual civilization, as the sole criterion for testing all our activities. If, on the "basis" of literature and art creation, the four basic principles are implemented energetically and fully, this will provide a sound guarantee for the long-term stability of the party's numerous principles and policies on literature and art.

To preserve the long-term stability of the party policy on literature and art, we should also correctly handle the ideological struggle on the two fronts in literature and art circles. The "leftist" and right erroneous deviations in literature and art work and thinking are objective facts, harmful to adherence to the four basic principles. Thus, they will certainly disrupt and undermine the long-term stability of the party policy on literature and art. In solving the above problem, on the one hand, we should adhere to the principle of giving top priority to enlightenment, namely, persuasion and education rather than the method of launching movements of any kind and "mass criticism" sessions and not repeat the previous "leftist" mistakes of handling problems in an oversimplified way and of broadening the scope of attacks. On the other, we should firmly oppose and resist both the corrosive influence of the capitalist, feudal, and other decadent ideologies and bourgeois liberalization. In brief, we should oppose both "leftist" and right deviations if they emerge and solve any problems facing us. This must not be misinterpreted as a "change" or a "swing" in our literature and art policy. On the contrary, this is precisely necessary for upholding the four basic principles, preserving the long-term stability of the party policy on literature and art, and for promoting the healthy growth of socialist literature and art.

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## STRIVE TO BRING PROSPERITY TO THE MUSIC AND DANCE ARTS

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[Article by Li Changan [2621 7022 1344]]

[Text] Music and dance are major components of the entire literature and art cause. The prosperity of music and dance is of great significance in enlivening social and cultural life, inspiring the people, and speeding up the construction of the four modernizations.

To bring prosperity to the music and dance arts is the demand of the masses and also the demand of the times. Music and dance have an extensive foundation among the masses. Singing and dancing are a major content of activities in the nursery, which play a role in inspiring and laying a solid foundation in children's moral education, mental education, physical education, and art education. Youths are also fond of singing and dancing, and so are the aged. Music and dance mean not only aesthetic education and artistic appreciation, they are also horns of war and strong notes of the times which are able to inspire people's revolutionary enthusiasm and spirit. During the war years, many of the revolutionary songs and dances enlightened the broad masses of armymen and people to strive for a victory in the revolutionary war and for winning success in liberating the whole nation. During the new historical period, beautiful and wholesome songs and dances can mold people's temperament and inspire them to work with great confidence for the cause of the four modernizations. Certain songs and dances with historical tradition and revolutionary war years as themes and which have characteristics of the nationalities can even enable people to look back on history and envisage the future, enhancing national superiority and improving people's spiritual civilization. In light of this, we can see that music and dance are very closely related to the people and society.

The music and dance of Shandong Province have enjoyed a long history and glorious tradition. During the revolutionary war years, and in the fifties and early sixties after the founding of the country, Shandong Province created and also performed many fine musical and dance works. Over the last few years, since the "Great Cultural Revolution" was thoroughly negated and the "leftist" influence has been eradicated, the broad masses of music and dance workers have liberated their minds and have become inspired, and thus a new situation of prosperity in music and dance has emerged. Certainly,

this still does not meet the pressing demands of the vigorous development of the four modernizations and the demands of the masses. Nevertheless, so long as we continue to work hard on this foundation and to make a good job of our work, it will not be difficult for us to bring about a new situation of "great inspiration, solid unity, and prosperity" in music and dance circles.

The key to bringing prosperity to music and dance is to bring prosperity to creation. Whether or not we can bring prosperity to music and dance depends on the quantity and quality of the works. In the latter half of 1984 and in 1985, we accorded a high priority to creation, launched a few activities, and obtained obvious results. First, we took the opportunity of organizing a literature and art soiree on television to celebrate the 1985 Spring Festival, we invited some famous composers, singers, and dancers from throughout the country go to the urban and rural areas of Shandong Province to write more than 20 new pieces, and put on a successful performance. Second, we organized professional music workers in the province to write more than 30 pieces for the experimental youth musical troupe. Third, we sponsored a television broadcast award for young singers throughout the province. The singers had to sing new songs, and a total of 58 new songs were sung on this program. Fourth, during the provincial "Fall of the City of Spring" music and dance festival, the various areas created a number of new works and performed eight music and dance programs. Fifth, certain literature and art periodicals launched activities of collecting musical and dance works. Although the quality of all these works is not very high, we were able, by means of these activities, to push forward musical and dance creation and to enrich the people's cultural life.

In grasping creation, we must accord primary priority to improving quality. The quality of music and dance should be a unity of the quality of the work itself and the quality of performance. High quality songs, dances, operas, and so on provide useful material for performers, and the good performances of the artists bring enjoyment and inspiration to the audience. High quality works and performances must, first of all, realize the strong spirit of the times. The contemporary era is the era of constructing socialist modernization and the era of struggling hard to achieve the far-reaching communist ideals. Musical and dance works and performances must realize this spirit of the times and inspire the broad masses of people to work hard actively and to fight unremittingly for the construction of the four modernizations and sacrifice themselves for the prosperity of China. Second, these works must possess clear-cut nationality style and the characteristics of localities. In developing music and dance, we must adhere to our own roads and create socialist music and dance which possess Chinese characteristics. China is a big country where various provinces, cities, and autonomous regions have their own unique styles of music and dance. If we integrate nationality styles with characteristics of the localities, we will be able to create colorful works with distinctive styles. We must also actively, seriously, and humbly absorb the advantages of foreign music and dance, but our objective in this is to develop our own national music and dance art. We must continue to inherit our ancient tradition of fine music and art, and, at the same time, tap the potential and rearrange the precious

collection of folk music and dance. Simultaneously, we must, by means of going deep into our lives, create musical and dance works which possess characteristics of the times and the styles of the nationalities and localities. Only by so doing can we create music and dance which possess Chinese characteristics. Third, we must stress the artistic nature. Musical and dance works and performances which lack an artistic nature will not be appealing, no matter how good they are ideologically speaking. This is because they will never win the support of the audience. Stressing the artistic nature demands that we strictly abide by the laws governing music and dance in the course of creation, work hard in obtaining the fundamental skills, and strive to create good and new works which are meaningful, sentimental, and innovative. Fourth, we must achieve the principle of "allowing a hundred flowers to bloom." We must vigorously promote new themes, new styles, and new approaches, and must avoid uniformity and repetition. Only by creating a variety of works can we create a situation in which a hundred flowers will bloom, fulfilling the people's demands for music and dance creations to the maximum extent.

The improvement of the quality of works and the standard of performances is determined by the quality of the talented people. If our writers and actors want to create good works and give good performances, they must maintain a high ideological standard and acquire high performance skills. If we do not have a large number of good directors, composers, singers, dancers, and performers who have high ideological and artistic cultivation, there will be no good works or good performances. Taking a single singing and dancing troupe as an example, the number of talented people determines the standard of this troupe and its destiny. It is very difficult to cultivate musicians and dancers; the demands on them are high and the areas concerned are extensive. We must strengthen mental investment and adopt the cultivation method of multiple channels, multiple forms and multiple levels. As far as the in-post writers, directors, and actors are concerned, we must first organize them to study political theory and literary theory, the party's line, principles, and policies, and the instructions of the central leading comrades on literature and art work. We must help them improve their ideological standard and their awareness in order to serve the people and socialism, and help them improve their sense of responsibility. Second, we must organize the writers, directors, and actors to have a profound understanding of life and the life of the masses and help them to conscientiously link their work with the sentiments of the masses and the great cause of enlivening China, and to absorb nourishment, themes, and sentiments in the fierce current of the construction of the four modernizations. Third, we must organize seminars and carry out exchanges and studies. We have already launched a music and dance seminar on bringing prosperity to music and dance in Shandong Province which played an important role in improving the quality of talented people. Fourth, we must adopt the method of "sending people out" and "inviting people in," sending people to other colleges and singing and dancing troupes to study and acquire better skills, while employing professionals both inside and outside the province to give training courses and hold rehearsals. We have invited Wu Xiaobang, Shu Qiao, Li Delun, Zhou Xiaoyin, and other experts and professors and winners of international vocal contests such as Zhang Jaiyi, Gao Manhua, Luo Wei, and



Liu Jielei to give lectures on skills and to demonstrate. Simultaneously, we have conducted regular tests for the directors and actors of the artistic performing troupes, enabling them to work hard to improve their own ideological and artistic quality and standard. We must create an atmosphere of paying respect to talented people, knowledge, and art in music and dance circles. Leaders must work hard to help music workers and dancers solve various practical problems, not shifting responsibility or delaying matters. It is necessary to give honors and awards to those "gardeners" who have made contributions in cultivating and selecting talented artists and to those artists who have won glory for the province and the country.

The strategy for cultivating singers and dancers is to start from fundamentals and lay emphasis on the long-term results. Currently, many primary and secondary schools have not attached appropriate importance to music and dancing lessons. This fails to meet the demand for all-round education in moral education, mental education, physical education, and art education, and is detrimental to the wholesome development of talented people. Thus, we stress providing inspiring music and dance education for young children, general music and dance education for primary and secondary students, and wholesome singing and dancing activities for youths. We must make use of the youth palaces and organize more singing and dancing classes which suit the characteristics of youths. The colleges of art are important breeding grounds for artists; we must only strengthen, and not weaken, their establishment. There are currently seven colleges of art (one post-secondary college and six secondary colleges) in our province, and six more institutes of higher learning have established music and dance faculties. They have achieved remarkable results in cultivating talented artists in the last few years. Recently, several influential singers and actors have emerged in Shandong Province, such as Peng Yuyuan, Wang Shiwei, and Luo Yuying, and they have all benefited from the teachers of the colleges of art. In the future, we will continue to improve conditions for running schools, expand the enrollment of students, and strive to improve the quality of teaching. We must face society, selecting good seed and seriously improving teaching methods and the quality of teaching. Except for a certain proportion who will be assigned jobs in the professional troupes, the majority of the graduates of colleges of art will be distributed to cultural and art museums and centers and various secondary and primary schools in order to gradually solve the problem of inadequate numbers of music and dancing teachers, so that the cultivation of talented artists can proceed in a wholesome direction.

Upholding and grasping the professional music and dance performance troupes, grasping the amateur music and dance activities of the masses, and motivating the initiative of various aspects are an important aspect of developing music and dance. The professional art performing troupes are the mainstay in developing music and dance, and play a backbone and leading role. The standard of their performance represents the standard of art in the locality. There are now seven professional singing and dancing troupes in Shandong Province. They have made important contributions to the development of music and dance in our province and to the improvement of the standard of music and dance in the province. However, due to historical

factors, several problems still exist, including redundantly, shortage of talented people, low quality, low cultural standard, and low standard of performance. The key to solving these problems lies in reform. In the latter half of last year, the provincial CPC committee and the provincial government decided to implement trial points in readjustment and reform, attaching primary importance to ideological rectification and construction, profoundly launching education which thoroughly negated the "Great Cultural Revolution," eliminating factionalism and vicious influences, and strengthening unity and uniting ideology. A professional examination on this basis was then conducted for people concerned throughout the country, recommendations were made for artists to stay with or to leave the performing troupes in accordance with their professional standards and their ages. As far as those comrades who were too old or were unsuited to staying in the troupes were concerned, we have fully affirmed their contributions to the construction of the troupes and to the music and dance arts. It was arranged for them to play their role as "seeds" and "gardeners" in supplementary guidance work. As far as youths who had a low professional standard were concerned, they were sent to professional colleges to improve their knowledge. As far as those who were recommended to stay in the troupes were concerned, they had to meet rigorous artistic demands, and a leader who would serve for a fixed period was elected from among them in a democratic way so that the troupes could strengthen democratic management and self-management. After undergoing the rectifications and reforms, the political and artistic quality of the comrades in the singing and dancing troupes has been greatly improved, a more vivid atmosphere prevails throughout all the troupes in music and dance circles. Two professional singing and dancing programs were performed this year to mark the "1 May" and "1 July" festivals, and the people concerned are still working work to probe and improve toward a higher level.

The objective of carrying out reforms in the singing and dancing troupes is to motivate enthusiasm, improve the quality of the performers and the quality of the performances, and to better serve the people and socialism, not to reduce the number of staff and make more money. Socialist artists must never set their sights on money, but should use all their energy in the pursuit of art and create eternal artistic life within their limited life-spans. In order to improve the quality of the artists and the quality of the performances, it is necessary to uphold strict management of the troupes, formulate various rules and regulations, and overcome egalitarianism in distribution. We must educate the broad masses of artists and performers so that they can be worthy of the name of "engineers of human souls," and so that they can pursue far-reaching goals with strong ambition and the spirit of never yielding and demanding perfection. We must actively provide conditions for more actors to practice their skills and train themselves in the "big arena" of society. If the professional troupes "try to improve their skills behind closed doors," they will be unable to achieve their aims or to play a guiding role in the people's amateur singing and dancing activities.

In addition to rectifying, strengthening, and enriching the professional troupes in the course of developing music and dance, it is necessary to attach importance to developing singing and dancing activities for the

masses. This is not only the foundation of the development of music and dance, but also an important channel for selecting the members of professional troupes. In the last few years, we have extensively launched concerts for the masses in the urban and rural areas, concerts have been launched in various areas, and one or two large-scale singing and dancing competitions have been held in various provinces each year. Last year, we set up art troupes for university students, secondary school students, and primary school students in our province and in Jinan city, an amateur troupe for workers has also been set up in Jinan, a brass band was set up this year, and certain large-scale factories, mines, and enterprises in various areas have also set up amateur art performing troupes. Art galleries, cultural palaces, club houses, and cultural centers at all levels have strengthened training in singing and dancing and improved guidance work. The radio stations, television stations, and press have also done a lot of work in broadcasting, publishing, popularizing, and commenting on the areas concerned. All this has not only broadened and consolidated the work but has also speeded up work in improving the standard of the professional troupes.

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## CHINA SHARES WEAL AND WOE WITH AFRICA

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[Article by Gong Dafei [1362 6671 7236]]

[Text]

### I

Since the end of World War II, the historical tide of the struggle for national liberation has kept on forging ahead and the African Continent, except Namibia, has finally won independence. This is a major event of epoch-making significance in the history of the contemporary world, an event which has sounded the death knell of colonialism. Africa, an "awakened, militant, and progressive continent," has emerged as an important rising force in the international arena.

Africa was under colonial rule for 500 years, the longest colonialist enslavement when compared with that suffered by Asia and Latin America. Africa experienced the most awful sufferings, the "trade of black slaves" alone caused a loss of 100 million population to the continent. Some place names of Africa, such as the "Gold Coast," the "Ivory Coast," and the "Slave Coast," are the evidence of the crimes of colonialist plunder in Africa. They reduced the African Continent to a "place for the commercial hunting of the black people." Marx remarked that the "traffic in black slaves" was an important means of primitive accumulation for capitalism.

Since colonialism seriously harmed Africa, those African countries which have newly won independence have been faced with far more formidable difficulties than those of Asia and Latin America in various fields of domestic construction.

Common historical experience and practical needs have linked China closely with Africa. Comrade Hu Yaobang said that China shares weal and woe with Africa. In the final analysis, whether in terms of bilateral relations or international affairs, there is no conflict but rather a coincidence of interests between China and African countries. Both sides have common ground on many issues: First, opposition to imperialism, colonialism, and racism; second, opposition to big powers' dominance over small countries and big powers' hegemonic politics; third, support for the struggle to

safeguard world peace; fourth, support for the strengthening of unity among Third World countries; fifth, support for a reform of unfair and unreasonable international economic relations; sixth, advocating real actions to promote the South-South cooperation; and seventh, a common wish to actively develop bilateral relations. The common ground between China and African countries in these aspects has been and remains the basis for the two sides' efforts to promote friendly and cooperative relations between them and to coordinate their actions.

Since the exchange of ambassadors between the PRC and Egypt in 1956, China has established diplomatic relations with 48 African countries. During their visit to 10 African countries at the end of 1963 and the beginning of 1964, Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice Premier Chen Yi announced in Algeria the five principles guiding China's relations with African countries and in Mali they proposed the eight principles guiding China's aid to foreign countries. When visiting 11 African countries at the end of 1982 and the beginning of 1983, Premier Zhao Ziyang put forth in Tanzania the four principles guiding China's policy to strengthen economic and technological cooperation with African countries. All these principles, along with the specific application of the well-known five principles of peaceful coexistence, have formed the basis for China's effort to promote friendly and cooperative relations with African countries.

## II

In the 40 years since the war, the peoples of all African countries have been carrying on brave and arduous struggle to secure and safeguard independence and to oppose racism. Staunch support for this struggle has been a conspicuous feature of China's relations with Africa since the founding of the PRC.

Many African countries won independence through armed struggle. All the armed struggles on the continent, from Algeria in the north to Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe in the south, were begun under conditions of great disparity in military strength between the people and the enemy, which decreed that these struggles were protracted and grim. China supported these struggles by various means, including military aid in different forms, from the very beginning through to the final victory. The Namibian people are still fighting for national independence today, and the Chinese people will continue to support them in their struggle.

After independence, African countries still had to deal with sabotage by imperialism, hegemonism, and racism endangering the independence of African countries. China has not only steadfastly supported the African people's struggle for national independence but also their struggle to safeguard independence. For example, after the outbreak of the Suez Canal war in 1956, the Chinese Government immediately announced: "We cannot sit by and tolerate any violation, in one form or another, of Egypt's sovereignty and territorial integrity." When foreign mercenary troops invaded Guinea in 1970 and Zaire in 1977 and 1978, China steadfastly stood by Guinea and Zaire and supplied them with necessary material aid. China has always

condemned the South African authorities for their repeated attacks on neighboring countries and their support for the antigovernment armed forces in these countries in their armed sabotage and activities aimed at overthrowing the local governments. Premier Zhao Ziyang has already declared on behalf of the Chinese Government that China, within its power, will surely respond positively to calls made by vanguard countries in the southern part of Africa for support for their struggle to consolidate their own political power and defend their national security.

Generally speaking, the struggle for national independence in the African Continent as a whole has already entered a historical stage featuring the struggle for economic independence and consolidation of political independence through development of national economy. China will continue to support African countries in their current struggle for economic independence and development of national economy, just as it supported them in their struggle for political independence in the past. The demand for establishing a new international economic order first put forth by African countries has received an enthusiastic response from China. In 1974, Comrade Deng Xiaoping personally headed the PRC delegation to attend the Sixth UN Extraordinary General Assembly convened to discuss this specific question. During the assembly, he made known to the world China's clear-cut stand on the side of African countries. Africa has been occupying an important position on the list of China's aid to foreign countries. In the wake of the increase in our national strength, we will continue to maximize our aid to Africa. At the same time, China is actively exploring more channels and better forms to strengthen economic and technological cooperation with African countries. During his visit to 11 African countries, Premier Zhao Ziyang put forth the four principles of "equality and mutual benefit, emphasis on practical results, diversity in form, and common development" as the guideline for the further development of economic and technological cooperation between China and African countries, and emphasized that cooperation in these fields had to be brought onto the track of common development. These principles have been well appreciated by African countries.

In their struggle to safeguard independence, the African people are faced with another special task, that is, opposition to the South African authorities' racial discrimination and apartheid policy. Like the African people, the Chinese people also strongly oppose this perverse act of the South African authorities. Back in 1960 when the South African authorities unjustifiably "banned" the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, China decided to sever all its economic relations and trade with South Africa. In the United Nations and at all other international conferences concerned, China has always advocated that comprehensive and compulsory sanctions be unreservedly exercised against South Africa by the international community. Recently, the South African authorities flagrantly proclaimed a "state of emergency" and further intensified their racist rule, thus arousing strong indignation among the Chinese people. The Chinese Government sternly denounces the South African authorities for this new outrage and firmly stands by the South African people's side in their struggle against racism.

We have always held that the just struggles waged by the peoples of all nations are reciprocal support for each other. In order to explain this view, the late Premier Zhou Enlai used to cite this story: General Charles George Gordon, a British colonialist who was granted a title by an emperor of the Qing Dynasty for his contributions to the suppression of agrarian revolution in China, was later killed by the Sudanese people in Africa. We will never forget the unremitting efforts made, and the essential role played by African countries in striving for the restoration of China's legitimate seat in the United Nations. Nowadays independent Africa has emerged as a strong force in the international arena. Without the concerted efforts by the vast number of African countries, China would possibly not have achieved success in implementing its foreign policy of opposing hegemonism, safeguarding world peace, and facilitating the common development of all nations. When an African guest expressed his thanks to Chinese leaders for China's support for his country, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: We really do not deserve your thanks to us, you overpraise us. I say this for three reasons: First, our two countries are very good friends and comrades-in-arms; second, we have helped you and you have helped us too--help and support are always reciprocal, and your trust in and reliance on us are a support for us; third, our help to and support for you are after all quite limited and negligible as our country is not rich and is rather backward. Of course, we believe that as time goes by, the prospect for cooperation between us and mutual support for each other will be brighter and brighter.

### III

Another conspicuous feature of the relations between China and African countries is that the two sides treat each other as equals. In 1982, Premier Zhao Ziyang told President Aristides Maria Pereira of Cape Verde: "The Chinese Government always holds that all nations, big or small, should be treated equally with regard to international affairs. No big powers and alien forces have the right to intervene in other countries' internal affairs. Also, we have always held that all nations, big or small, have their own strong points and they should, therefore, learn from each other to make up each other's deficiencies." The history of relations between China and Africa in the past 30-odd years has shown that China's deeds square with its words.

In relations with African countries, China has always observed the principle of nonintervention in internal affairs. We firmly believe that revolution cannot be exported, we respect the African peoples' choice of social system and political structure for their own countries as well as their right to decide on their foreign and domestic policies independently and on their own initiative. In providing different types of aid to African countries and engaging in mutually beneficial cooperative projects, China has always strictly respected its partners' sovereignty and has never obligated the latter with any terms or demanded any privileges.

China pursues an independent foreign policy and respects African countries' right to make judgments and decisions independently and on their own

initiative with regard to international affairs. China and African countries have common ground in many world issues. Inevitably, however, they also have differences of opinion. China never forces others to echo its views and act in line with its stand and interests. As independent states, African countries have the full right to make friends with one country or another and accept aid provided by one country or another, starting from their own position and in light of their own interests.

China never intervenes in any country's domestic and foreign affairs. This way of handling foreign affairs and treating others as equals has won China admiration among African countries. President Nyerere of Tanzania, one of the Chinese people's old friends, made the following remark during his recent visit to China: "China has shown not the least intention of dominating our policies or infringing upon our country's sovereignty and dignity in extending aid to us or in the intercourse between our two countries at international conferences. This is the way in which things should have been done. But, in contrast to the actual circumstances in the world, we highly appreciate the Chinese way. It makes us respect this country even more and strengthen the friendship between us and the Chinese, as we are only too familiar with the pressure that big powers apply on others."

In its relations with African countries, China has tried its best to guard against arrogance and the mentality of a big country being fond of teaching others. China emphasizes instead that it is necessary to make full allowances for African countries' difficulties, show concern for their position, and learn from their strong points. This is an important aspect of the principle of treating others as equals that China has adhered to in handling its relations with African countries. As far as this is concerned, the late Premier Zhou Enlai set a brilliant example for us. During his visit to 10 African countries at the end of 1963 and the beginning of 1964, an unsuccessful coup d'etat took place in Ghana when Premier Zhou Enlai was about to depart for that country. President Kwame Nkrumah had been injured by assassins and the situation in Ghana was unstable. However, Premier Zhou resolutely decided to visit the country as scheduled to show his support for, and trust in President Nkrumah. He also suggested that the host cancel the welcoming and farewell ceremonies to be held at the airport as part of the usual protocol practice. He stayed with President Nkrumah in the same fortress, and the Ghanaian host was deeply moved by his act. After that, Premier Zhou also visited Ethiopia. Under external pressure, Emperor Haile Selassie was forced to choose Asmara, which is far away from the capital, as the place for talks with the Chinese premier. Taking the whole situation into account, Premier Zhou did not stand on ceremony and gladly attended the talks there. The Ethiopian side told the Chinese side that the country recognized the PRC in principle but had to make some preparations to mitigate objection from the United States, therefore the normalization of the Ethiopian-Chinese relations could not be effected at once. Premier Zhou immediately replied that the Chinese side understood Ethiopia's position. So, less than 10 months after Premier Zhou's visit to Ethiopia, the two countries at last established diplomatic relations. During that visit to 10 African countries, Premier Zhou often cited a Chinese verse-- "Fragrant grass can be found everywhere"--to emphasize China's need to



learn any useful thing from African countries. He repeatedly pointed out: We should get rid of the wrong view that everything is backward in Africa, a continent which has been under colonial rule for several centuries. In fact, Africa has many good things from which China can learn.

#### IV

China has not only supported African countries in their struggle to secure and safeguard independence but also sincerely wishes to see African countries strengthen the unity and cooperation between themselves. This is another conspicuous feature of China's relations with Africa.

From "Pan-Africanism" to the "Organization of African Unity," the history of African countries' struggle for national liberation over nearly 100 years has fully shown that the African people profoundly understand the truth of the saying "unity is strength." Now that African countries are engaged in developing their national economies and are faced with the arduous task of opposing external intervention and safeguarding their independence and sovereignty, the unity between African countries and the unity within each country are still of prime importance.

Certain disputes and differences of opinion arising between different African countries and between different patriotic factions within each African country are understandable but not inevitable. This is because there is no conflict of fundamental interests between these countries or between these factions. On the contrary, their fundamental interests coincide. As long as they uphold the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and try their best to overcome external intervention, it is definitely possible for them to reach a fair and reasonable solution through peaceful consultations. Even if a solution cannot be reached for the time being, it will definitely be possible to prevent the situation from being aggravated if all the parties concerned take the whole situation into consideration, set unity and common interests above everything else, and exercise restraint. Chinese leaders have repeatedly explained this view to African friends and China itself never intervenes in the disputes between African countries and within any African country, but opposes intervention in African affairs by any external force. One thing that we want to remind our African friends is that they should guard against external force which would sow dissension among African countries, or fish in troubled waters, so as to seek colonialist interests and hegemony.

Take some events in the recent years as examples. In 1977, when armed clashes broke out in the Horn of Africa, China resolutely opposed military intervention by external force, definitely declared that it would show no partiality to either Somalia or Ethiopia in their territorial dispute, and urged the two sides again and again to seek a settlement of their dispute through negotiations. With regard to the West Sahara issue, China has always maintained that all parties concerned should get rid of external intervention and solve the issue through consultations. As for Chad, China is looking forward to an early restoration of peace and unity in the country so that the Chadian people can live in peace, restore production, take up

national construction again, and consolidate the nation's hard-won independence. During his visit to Africa, Premier Zhao Ziyang met with the leaders of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, and sincerely told them that China treats all national liberation organizations in southern Africa equally and supports all of them without discrimination; and that China hoped they would unite to fight against their common enemy.

The Organization of African Unity is the symbol of the unity of Africa. Since its founding, China has wholeheartedly supported it in its struggle for the promotion of independence, liberation, unity, cooperation, and development of all African countries, and highly appreciated the achievements it has made in all these aspects. In the previous period, the Organization of African Unity landed in a predicament due to differences of opinion among its members. China has shown great concern for this, and Chinese leaders have repeatedly reminded the leaders of some African countries that should the Organization of African Unity split, it would be a misfortune to the vast number of African countries; China hopes that the difficulties which the Organization of African Unity is faced with will be overcome as soon as possible. Now the Chinese people are happy to see that the Organization of African Unity has finally stood the test and is taking the broad road of intensification of unity again.

Once, when talking with some African guests, Comrade Hu Yaobang summed up China's attitude toward African unity. He said: We Chinese people are very sincere and friendly to Africa and have high hopes for it. First, we hope that African countries can get along well with each other, guard against aggression and subversion by external forces, and avoid being crushed one by one. Second, we hope that all African countries can strengthen internal unity and concentrate efforts on the building of democratic and independent states which will become prosperous step by step. The reason that the Chinese leaders have attached great importance to unity on the African Continent is because it has an important bearing on the future of Africa. For developing Africa, both its real advantage and hope for prosperity lie in unity. We believe that the African countries, which in the past managed to unite to break up the colonialist yoke imposed on them for centuries, will surely be able to further unite in the future in the interests of a bright future for the rising African Continent. By the way, a united, prosperous, and strong Africa will not only serve as a great support and encouragement for the Chinese people who are stepping up their magnificent cause of four modernizations but will also make new essential contributions to the cause of safeguarding world peace and expediting the progress of mankind.

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## XIN CHANGZHENG TO APPEAR WITH NEW FEATURES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 p 23

[RED FLAG announcement]

[Text] XIN CHANGZHENG [2450 7022 1767] [NEW LONG MARCH] is a monthly publication of political theories put out by the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee and is sold throughout the country. In order to further improve the quality of the publication, satisfy the needs of leading cadres at all levels and in particular the needs of the broad masses of grassroot cadres, convey messages on reform and give guidance to work throughout the province, the XIN CHANGZHENG Publishing House has recently made appropriate changes in the content and columns of the periodical. The changes in contents mainly include: explanation of the lines, principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee; publicity on socialist spiritual civilization, introduction of new experiences in ideological and political work, criticism of various erroneous ways of thinking and ideology; exploration and research on economic reforms and economic development strategies, and explanations of the relevant policies, experiences and messages; and introduction of various new ideas, new culture, new knowledge and new concepts which are urgently needed by various cadres at different levels.

The changes in columns mainly include: special commentary, commentary, provincial situation and thoughts, probes in reform, better management, ideological and political work, party spirit and party discipline, random talks, my ideals, supplementary guidance on normal education in Marxist-Leninist principles, small encyclopedia, literature and art appreciation, provincial press information, areas within Jilin (special page on large-scale provincial and prefectural enterprises), work in rural areas, on the path of the new Long March and so on.

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## DO WELL IN STRENGTHENING NATIONAL UNITY TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 pp 24-25

[Article by Liu Shusheng [0491 2885 3932], deputy secretary of the Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] The work for nationalities carries a lot of weight in our Yunnan Province. There are more than 10 million people of minority nationalities in Yunnan, accounting for one-third of the total population of the whole province. There are 24 minority nationalities each having a population exceeding 4,000.

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the abolition of the system of oppression of nationalities. Various minority nationalities, which previously had no rights or status, have become equal members of the big family of the motherland characterized by unity and mutual aid among various nationalities. New socialist relations among nationalities have thus been established. After entering the new historical period, such relations, which have acquired new peculiarities, have further developed. Exchanges and cooperation between the Han nationality and various minority nationalities, between various minority nationalities, and between various nationality areas have been unprecedentedly frequent and close in terms of talented personnel, technology, materials, information, literature, art and so forth. The previous situation of regional and nationality seclusion and self-sufficiency has been overcome. This will be extremely beneficial to the common prosperity of various nationalities, and the four modernizations program of the whole motherland. With the common objective of promoting the four modernizations program, the Han nationality and various minority nationalities can never be separated from one another.

Under the new situation, new contradictions will inevitably occur in the course of progress. To develop socialist commodity production, we should follow the law of selecting the best and eliminating the worst. This will give rise to some new contradictions. More and more problems will occur in the exploitation and use of mountain forest, land, mining, water conservancy and manpower resources, and distribution of interests. On the one hand, some minority nationalities might put forward improper demands, showing no consideration for the overall interests of the state. On the other hand, some problems of failing to show sufficient concern for the interests of

local minority nationalities might also occur. At present, the number of problems of the second category is greater. Developing the construction in nationality areas is beneficial not only to the situation as a whole, but also to the local nationalities. Cadres and masses in nationality areas should adopt an overall point of view and consciously subordinate their interests to the overall interests. They should serve the overall interests and actively support construction being carried out by the state in the nationality areas. In the meantime, the state departments concerned should fully consider and give preferential treatment to the interests of the local minority nationalities. If natural resources can be exploited locally, priority must be given to local institutions in exploiting and making use of them in accordance with the relevant law and regulations. This will be beneficial to enhancing the capability of minority nationalities to develop their economy independently so that they can get rich as early as possible. With regard to economic cooperation between the Han nationality and various minority nationalities, we should uphold the principle of equal consultation, mutual aid, mutual interest, and common development. In particular, we should educate cadres and masses of the Han nationality so that they regard the work of helping minority nationalities to develop and make progress as their own historical mission and a glorious duty.

In accordance with the unified guiding principle and policy of the central authorities, we should be firm and unshakable in carrying out reform steadily in light of the practical conditions in the areas inhabited by minority nationalities. This is an absolutely important and urgent task. Rural economic structural reform was started early in the minority areas in our province. We have achieved marked results in this respect. However, economic structural reform with emphasis on urban economy is still at an exploratory and experimental stage. The common characteristics of the nationality areas in Yunnan are that their rural economic structure is simple, and that the number of their town and township enterprises is limited. Their commodity economy is weak and their production technology is backward. They basically belong to a closed agricultural natural economy. Some areas are still at a primitive agricultural economic stage characterized by slash-and-burn cultivation. To change this situation rapidly, we should further relax our policy, adopt flexible measures, be bold in vigorously developing commodity production and implement an open-door policy. In the meantime, we should take the characteristics of the nationality areas into full consideration. The specific policy and methods adopted in these areas should be differentiated from those implemented and employed in the interior. We should not demand "conformity in everything." We should avoid blindly copying the experience and methods of the interior. Not only might their policy and methods get us nowhere, they may even bring about a negative result. To closely integrate the guiding principle and policy of the central authorities on reform with the practical condition in the nationality areas, and implement them in a creative way, we should persist in adopting the working methods of leaders personally carrying out investigation and studies, and all new work being carried out through experiment at selected points. We should fully heed and respect the opinions of the local cadres of minority nationalities and the masses. Some work must be done and reform in certain aspects must be carried out. However, if they do not understand

them and refuse to accept them, we should postpone doing the work and carrying out the reform. We should not resort to coercion and commandism. We should adopt positive measures to talk them over, and create conditions so that we can put the work and reform on the agenda again.

Backward science and technology and educational undertakings are important factors which hinder economic development of the nationality areas. At present, nationality areas lack scientific workers and teachers. However, they also face the problem of their talented personnel flowing to other areas and cities. In some nationality areas, the number of their talented personnel transferred to other areas and cities exceeds the number of those assigned to them. In recent years, some work has been done in implementing policy for intellectuals. Nationality areas have also adopted some special methods aimed at giving preferential treatment to intellectuals. The situation has improved. However, the problems have not yet been completely solved. Our present priority task is to continue to grasp the implementation of the policy toward intellectuals, and adopt vigorous measures so that they can work contentedly. We should help scientific workers and teachers in the nationality areas solve the practical difficulties resulting from their living in the border areas for a long time. We should create better working and living conditions for them. In the meantime, we should handle well the problem of ensuring a reasonable flow of talented personnel. It is not permitted to lure teachers and scientific, technical, and medical workers away from the nationality areas. We should encourage teachers, scientific, technical, and medical workers to work in the border areas and mountain areas where minority nationalities live in compact communities. To do so, we should adopt various flexible methods and offer various kinds of conditions: They are welcome to work in those areas for 3 to 5 years, or a year or so. They may also stay in those areas for several months in order to tackle one or two technical items. The basic way for enhancing the quality of minority nationalities lies in vigorously developing the educational undertaking in the minority areas. This is a task of strategic importance. We should first grasp basic education. Universities, colleges, and secondary vocational schools should continue to run special classes for students of minority nationalities. The educational foundation of Yunnan is comparatively backward. Education in the nationality areas is more backward than other areas. Their illiteracy rate is very high. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "China's four modernizations will get nowhere if we do not make a success of science and education." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 65) He also said: "Whether our national power is strong or weak and whether our staying power for economic development is great or small is determined by the quality of our laborers, and the quantity and quality of our intellectuals." (Speech delivered at the National Work Conference on Education, 19 May 1985) Today, his remarks are of urgent and tremendous significance to the minority nationalities areas.

Regional national autonomy is a basic policy adopted by the CPC for solving the problem of nationalities, and a state important political system aimed at enabling minority nationalities to fully exercise their rights of being the masters of their own affairs, and arousing their enthusiasm for carrying out socialist modernization. Appointing more cadres of minority nationality

origin in the national autonomous organs is a key to success in carrying out regional national autonomy. Appointing more cadres of minority nationality origin is in accord with our efforts to enable our cadres to foster communist ideals. Cadres of minority nationality origin have their natural links with the local people and masses. They understand the practical reality of the people of their own nationalities better, and their psychological state of mind in particular. Their valuable role cannot be replaced by cadres from other areas. However, this is not the highest aim which cadres of minority nationality should attain. Our highest aim in training cadres of minority nationality origin is to help them foster a communist world outlook. They must have communist ideals, morality, and values. They must uphold the four basic principles, observe discipline, and sustain the spirit of contributing to the four modernizations program. They should implement the party guiding principle and policy in a creative way and serve the people wholeheartedly in light of the practical conditions of the nationality areas. At present, it is gratifying that a large number of young cadres, who have professional knowledge and are better educated, have been promoted to leading posts at all levels. However, there are still a number of comrades who lack understanding of the history and present situation of the minority nationalities, and are not familiar with the Marxist theory on nationalities and the party policy for nationalities. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to particularly stress the importance of studying again the theories on nationalities and policy for nationalities, and further understanding the present situation of the nationalities.

Over the past 30 years or so since liberation, Yunnan Province has scored immense success and won great victories in the work for nationalities. However, we have also suffered failure and defeat. The most important experience we have gained is that we should stick to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, proceed in everything from the actual conditions of the nationality areas, and go about things according to actual reality. We should respect the wishes of the local nationalities, give full play to the role of cadres of minority nationality origin, link the party's guiding principle and policy with the actual conditions of various nationalities, and integrate generalities with specific characteristics. We should conscientiously absorb historical experience, and constantly sum up new experience. This will certainly be beneficial to creating a new situation in the work for nationalities.

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A GREAT PIONEER IN THE CHINESE WORKERS' MOVEMENT--COMMEMORATING THE BIRTH  
CENTENARY OF COMRADE SU ZHAOZHENG

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 pp 26-28

[Article by the Zhuhai City CPC Committee]

[Text] The 11th of November this year will be the centenary anniversary of Comrade Su Zhaozheng's [5685 0340 1767] birth.

Comrade Su Zhaozheng was a pioneer in the Chinese workers' movement, an activist in the international workers' movement and one of the early leaders of the CPC. He was born in 1885 and died of illness in 1929, at the age of 43. His life of struggle provided a glorious page in the history of the Chinese workers' movement and in Chinese revolutionary history.

Su Zhaozheng's hometown was in the Tangjia District of Zhuhai city, Guangdong Province. At 18, he was forced to go to Hong Kong and worked on a foreign ship. In the 20-plus years he was a seaman, he was subject to the ruthless exploitation and oppression of capitalists and overseers. The difficult life of a seaman and the seamy decadence of the semifeudal, semicolonial society caused his revolutionary consciousness to grow stronger day by day. At that time, Sun Yat-sen was traveling abroad to organize the overthrow of the Qing Court, and he often had opportunities to come into contact with Su Zhaozheng and other Hong Kong seamen. Under the influence of Sun Yat-sen, Su Zhaozheng joined the Tong Meng Hui in 1908, and threw himself into the struggle to overthrow the Qing. After the defeat of the 1911 revolution, he was not dejected, but rather pondered and explored more deeply. After he heard about the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, he was greatly encouraged. He came to strongly believe that the people could only be completely liberated through socialist revolution, and thus decided to redouble his efforts in struggling for the liberation of the toiling masses of China.

A revolution requires a revolutionary organization. Su Zhaozheng made contact with Lin Weimin [2651 0251 3046] and other advanced elements and, through 2 years of organization and mobilization, established the "Industrial Federation of Chinese Seamen" in March 1921. This was the first real labor union organization for Chinese seamen and was one of China's earliest industrial union organizations. After its establishment, it struggled for



workers' interests. On 12 January 1922, it staged the large Hong Kong seamen's strike which shook both China and the world. During the strike Su Zhaozheng externally represented the workers and held discussions with the imperialists, while internally he managed all the affairs and took responsibility for arranging the livelihoods of over 6,000 striking workers. He stood by his principles, did not bend to the high-handed policies of the British colonialists and was not misled by the sweet words of the capitalists. He rallied the workers to engage in an indomitable struggle and finally achieved victory for the strikers. The strike was not only an economic struggle for higher wages and improved living conditions, but was also a struggle to oppose the rule of capitalist oppression. It was the starting point of the first high-tide of strikes following the establishment of the CPC.

Through this struggle, Su Zhaozheng won the trust and support of the vast numbers of seamen. As his prestige continued to grow, he became the central leader of the nation's seamen. In the spring of 1925, through the introduction of Li Dazhao, he joined the CPC, something he had long yearned to do. After this, under the direct guidance and fostering of the CPC, Su Zhaozheng became an outstanding proletarian revolutionary.

In May of 1925, the Second National Labor Conference was held in Guangzhou. Su Zhaozheng made important contributions to this conference. Before the conference, he did much preparatory work, educated the Guangdong unions in eliminating factional divisions, and made concerted efforts to have them participate in the conference. During the conference, he did work for the CPC and CYL committees and assisted in the smooth running of the conference. This conference was a milestone in the history of the Chinese workers' movement. Su Zhaozheng was elected to the Executive Committee of the Chinese National Federation of Labor Unions, which had just been formed. Not long after the end of the conference, the 30 May massacre occurred in Shanghai. In opposition to the actions of the imperialists in massacring our nation's compatriots, and in order to support the Shanghai people in their struggle against the imperialists, the Hong Kong and Shamian workers in Guangzhou staged the great Guangdong-Hong Kong strike on 19 June. Su Zhaozheng acted as head of the striking workers' committee. While leading the strikers' struggle, he manifested outstanding organizational abilities. He was brave, staunch, paid attention to summing up experiences, used flexible policies, won the sympathy and support of the people at different levels and isolated England. The strike was continued until October the following year, a total period of 1 year and 4 months, while the strike organization was maintained until October 1927, a total period of 28 months. The strike was a major attack on imperialism and played a great role in consolidating the Guangdong revolutionary base area, and in preparing for the Northern Expedition. This strike, in the staunchness of the leaders, the tightness of the organization, the vastness of its scale, the length of time it was maintained, and the depth of its influence, was a magnificent feat seldom seen in the history of the international workers' movement. At the Third National Labor Conference convened in May 1926, Su Zhaozheng was highly praised by the representatives for his contribution to our nation's workers' movement and he was unanimously elected the head of the Executive Committee of the National Federation of Labor Unions.

Su Zhaozheng was not only an outstanding leader of the Chinese workers' movement, but was also active in the international workers' movement. In May 1924, he attended the Conference of Pacific Coast Transport Workers which was held in Guangzhou, and made contributions to promoting the unity of Eastern transport workers and in struggling against the imperialists. In May 1927, he was elected a secretariat member of the Pacific Ocean Labor Conference. In 1928, he successively attended the Fourth International Conference of Red Workers and the Sixth Conference of Comintern Delegates Conference which were held in the Soviet Union. At the Comintern Conference he gave an introduction to the extremely arduous revolutionary struggle being carried out by the Chinese people under the leadership of the CPC. He was elected a member of the presidium of the conference, a member of the program drafting committee, and a member of the new Executive Committee.

Comrade Su Zhaozheng's revolutionary contributions were not restricted to the workers' movement. In our party's historic process of change from the struggle of the Northern Expedition to agrarian revolution, he also played an important historical role. From April to May 1927, he attended the fifth party congress. Together with other representatives such as Qu Qiubai and Mao Zedong, he struggled against Chen Duxiu's rightist capitulationism, proposed the correct ideas of carrying out agrarian revolution and launching the worker-peasant armed struggle, and was elected as a member of the Central Committee and of the Political Bureau. After the great revolution was defeated, he participated in preparations for, and attended the 7 August conference, participated in the drafting of the "Resolution on Recent Workers' Movements" and, together with Qu Qiubai and Li Wei-han [2621 4850 3352] took responsibility for the final revision of the "Letter to All Party Members." He was also elected to the party Political Bureau Standing Committee. In July 1927, in order to implement the CPC Central Committee's decision to organize an armed uprising in Nanchang, he hurried to Jiujiang and other places, went deep among the masses of workers, and carried out mobilization work. He actively linked this with the Nanchang Uprising. He did not directly participate in the uprising, as he had to make preparations for the 7 August conference. However, the success of the 1 August Uprising involved the contributions he made. In Shanghai, he participated in the formulation of plans for the Guangzhou Uprising, and after the uprising exploded, he was elected chairman of the Guangzhou Worker-Peasant Democratic Government. Pressures of work required that he remain in Shanghai and thus he did not go to Guangzhou. However, as Comrade Deng Zhongxia [6772 0022 1115] said: He "was in fact one of the major leaders of the Guangzhou Commune, and was one of the initiators of the first soviet in the East." (See "Works of Deng Zhongxia," p 400)

Su Zhaozheng was an outstanding leader of the Chinese workers' movement, and in him were collected the outstanding qualities of the Chinese working class. The most outstanding of these were as follows:

1. He was unremitting in his diligence. In the period of the great Guangdong-Hong Kong strike, he worked selflessly with great loyalty to the revolutionary cause and strong revolutionary will. Throughout the long period the strike was maintained, he did not ask for leave and often his

eyes were extremely bloodshot from work. In regard to strike matters, "he personally handled everything. When everyone else had gone home, he remained working under the flickering lamp." In all that which required his attention, he was never dilatory and never asked other people to stand in for him. "What he hated most was people who worked in a dilatory manner. He was very sensitive to and correctly felt that an attitude of idleness such as this would bring great losses to the revolution. Thus, he made no or little use of such idle workers." ("Works of Deng Zhongxia," p 402) He was originally strong in body, but the environment of harsh struggle and his excessively tense work for long periods caused him to break down from overwork. In September 1928, when he was in the Soviet Union at a meeting, sickness almost brought about his death. The doctors urged him to stay for a period in the Soviet Union to recuperate, and when he had recovered his health to undergo an operation. However, when he went to southern Russia to recover, he did not concern himself with his illness but began to study the Soviet socialist construction going on around him. Without waiting to recover, in January 1929, he returned to Shanghai. He did not concern himself with his sick, tired body and the long distance he had traveled, and did not even go to see his family, but immediately participated in the second enlarged national conference of the Chinese Federation of Labor Unions. At the conference, he gave a report on his attendance at the Fourth International Conference of Red Workers. Just after the conference finished, his old sickness recurred due to overwork, and he died suddenly. Just before he died, he spoke to Zhou Enlai, Li Lisan, and other Central Committee leading comrades, saying: "The vast number of people now have no way to find a livelihood. They are waiting for us to go to organize them." He hoped that "everyone will work together with one heart and cooperate in order to achieve the final success of the revolution!" (ZHONGGUO GONGREN, No 4, 1959) Until his last breath, Su Zhaozheng constantly bore in mind uniting with the masses in struggle and achieving victory in revolution.

2. He was honest in performing his duties. What the masses often look at when assessing the actions of the leaders is whether they are thrifty in economic matters and whether they are honest in performing their duties. Su Zhaozheng often also handled financial matters. Although he handled large quantities of money, his own life was very frugal. When the seamen went on strike, he contributed the little money he had saved over the years to the funds. He shared the comforts and hardships of everybody. He often said to those comrades who handled financial matters: "In handling financial matters, there are three magic weapons. If one is good at using these three magic weapons, all sorts of complicated and difficult work can be handled well. The three magic weapons referred to are fairness, honesty, and strictness." While handling the financial tasks of the seaman's union, every month a meeting was held to report on the accounts. All receipts were brought out and given to the meeting to inspect, and the accounts were printed in the union's magazine every month. He had strong principles and would not change the systems implemented in order to accommodate anyone. At that time, a person surnamed Tan who held a responsible position in the union misused common funds. Su Zhaozheng criticized him face to face. During the Guangdong-Hong Kong strike, the strike committee frequently handled tens of thousands, and up to 100,000 yuan a day. However, no

mistakes were made. The finance committee which he led made a report to the representatives committee every 2 days, and a special accounts publication was issued and sent to all union members. Thus, despite the rumors continually spread by the imperialists and the reactionaries that "Su Zhaozheng is getting fat," not a single one of the masses believed this.

3. He maintained strict discipline. Before Su Zhaozheng joined the CPC, he already had great prestige in society. In general, people of this sort were not used to the iron discipline expected by the CPC, but for Comrade Su Zhaozheng, this was absolutely no problem. From the day he joined the CPC, he was used to party life and acted completely in accordance with party policies. At the national conference preparatory meeting and the Second National Labor Conference, many party members of long standing failed to reach the level achieved by Su Zhaozheng. During the Guangdong-Hong Kong strike, in the national government, and in all activities, it was the same story. Even in his last days, Su Zhaozheng was strict in discipline. On the eve of his serious illness, he discovered that a woman employee of his family was acting suspiciously. He was afraid that she was revealing secrets and requested his wife's cooperation in discharging this woman worker. His wife was a complete stranger in Shanghai and did not know the address of his comrades. When his sickness recurred, he did not want to tell his comrades of his illness as he wished to avoid putting more burdens on the party, but at the same time he would not tell his family members of the secret contact locations of the party organization, because he wished to avoid endangering the party. Thus, only when his sickness got worse did he allow his family members to send him to the hospital.

Su Zhaozheng had many outstanding characteristics and he was also very modest. Although he was a leader supported by the masses, he was amiable and easy to approach and always placed himself among the masses. Deng Zhongxia evaluated him as follows: "Comrade Su Zhaozheng's style of work is the finest model for any revolutionary fighter." ("Works of Deng Zhongxia," p 402) After Su Zhaozheng died, the Central Committee issued a notice of mourning and praised him, saying that since he had entered the revolution, "he had fully manifested the proletarian spirit of putting up with extreme hardships and difficulties, and was resolute in his political consciousness." It affirmed that he "was truly one of the finest leaders of the party" and "called all party comrades to carry on the spirit of Comrade Su Zhaozheng, and in struggling forward, to remember his dying words, 'Everyone should strive hard to achieve victory in the revolution!'"

Today, as we celebrate the centenary of Su Zhaozheng's birth, we can console him with the knowledge that we have not only broken down the old world, but have built a new world and the motherland has already successfully traversed the golden road of socialism for 36 years. His hometown of Zhuhai has also seen vast changes. From the small frontier town of the past, it has changed into a coastal city and special economic zone of a reasonable scale. In the 5 short years since the special economic zone was established, the city's total industrial and agricultural output has quadrupled, income has increased over seven times, and the people's lives have

obviously been improved. However, this is just a good beginning. The tasks facing us are extremely difficult. As we, the people of Progress Zhuhai, we must study Comrade Su Zhaozheng's revolutionary spirit of seeking truth, being brave in development, and being undaunted by repeated setbacks. We must study his spirit of being honest in carrying out his duties and in strictly maintaining discipline, and his spirit of making unremitting efforts for communism, and giving his all until his heart stopped beating. We must also seriously study and implement the spirit of the party congress, adhere to the four basic principles, resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas, halt the evil trend of using one's power for private gain, firmly hold to the aim of serving the people, strengthen party spirit, strictly implement party and state policies and decrees, unite in struggle and strive to build Zhuhai Special Economic Zone well within a not too lengthy period, so as to make a great contribution to building socialism with Chinese characteristics. This will be the best way to remember Su Zhaozheng.

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## RANDOM IDEAS ABOUT THE IMAGE OF PARTY CADRES IN THE NEW PERIOD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 pp 29-32

[Article by Zhao Qizheng]

[Text] We are now living in an exciting reform period and carrying out an unprecedentedly great cause. Our country is just like a huge oceangoing ship opening up new channels and sailing toward the glorious shore. In order to win victory, we must establish a kind of faith--the faith of the whole crew in the navigator. If not, we will be unable to have unity, courage, and strength.

Where does the people's faith in our party come from? First, it comes from the party's scientific guiding ideology, our party's correct line, and our party's correct general and specific policies. Second, it comes from our party cadres' work methods and mental attitudes--the image of our party cadres.

During the period of democratic revolution, the image of our party cadres once attracted and encouraged millions of workers, peasants, and intellectuals. From the image of our party cadres, they began to understand our party, put faith in it, follow our party into the mighty torrent of the revolution, and later created the new China with their blood and lives. When recalling the past, many of them cannot help remembering those dear and respectable images that drew them onto the revolutionary road. But now, people begin to doubt the "image" of our party cadres. This is because, first, under the long-term influence of the "leftist" guiding ideology of "grasping class struggle as the key link," many cadres have always been on the first front to "stress politics" and have wrongly punished some people. Second, for historical reasons, some cadres, especially cadres at the middle and grassroots levels, lack a reasonable standard of education, making it difficult for them to accept modern science and knowledge, renew their ways of thinking, and catch up with the fast pace of reform and the pace of opening up to the world. For this reason their work and remarks lack innovation and attraction. Third, some cadres make use of the positions and working conditions provided by the party and the people to seek personal gain and privileges for themselves and their relatives. This disgusts the broad masses of the people.

In order to carry out our party's cause, we must consciously create a new image of our party cadres. This is the demand of our times. At the same time, our times have provided us with the conditions. The reform of the economic structure will naturally cause a change in the people's ideas, and change in the people's ideas is the inherent premise for the change of image. Our party's policy of the "four transformations" of cadres has enabled a large number of young cadres to come to leading posts, providing in turn, very good conditions for changing the image of our party cadres.

The so-called image is the inherent phenomenon of quality embodied in a person's behavior and mental attitude. It includes the way of thinking, the way of working, the way of living, and so on. Of course, the "new image" itself is not a model. It is pluralized, it includes an individual's facial expressions, remarks, personality, occupation, and so on. What kind of new image should party cadres in the new period have? A good cadre has the following qualities.

--He is a steadfast pursuer of communist ideals and a practical man of action. His ideals are not based on momentary enthusiasm but based on his faith in scientific communism, so he neither hesitates nor wavers in complex situations. Even when meeting with temporary setbacks, he can still stick to his faith and stick to our party's correct line and not waver.

His enthusiastic pursuit of communism is manifested by his unremitting efforts in building the four modernizations. He does his day-to-day work as if he were laying bricks for his ideal building.

He knows: "To lead is to serve." He should not only bring along his comrades to work hard together with his spirit of devotion, but also attract and draw the masses into the mighty torrent of reform with his image of serving the people heart and soul so as to bring the strength of the masses into full play.

The strength of each individual is a kind of vector that differs in size and direction from all the others. The task of a leader is to unite all the individual strengths and make it as strong as possible in a reasonable direction. In order to do this, our party cadres must understand the people, show concern for the people, and serve the people heart and soul. In the mind of the masses, he should be their bosom friend: He is good at understanding the people, willing to help the people, diligent and conscientious in serving the people and willing to bear heavy burdens. All the qualities that were praised by the people in the past should be revived in him.

--He is as good as his word. He not only has lofty ideals but also takes practical actions. His doctrine is that "promises must be kept and action must be resolute." As a party member, he must realize his oath of joining the party: "Fight all my life for the cause of communism, and be ready to sacrifice everything for the party and the people at any time." He is firm and unshakable in the face of difficulties and temptation. At present, along with the deepening of the exploratory reform of the economic

structure, the temptation of economic interests might appear at any time. If a party cadre demands others to be selfless while his own soul is corrupted, how can the people put faith in him?

To think and act in one and the same way and to act according to one's promises is not only a strict self-demand of our party cadres but also an important criterion for the people and the masses in observing and appraising our party cadres. It was an important criterion in the past, it is still an important criterion at present, and it will continue to be an important criterion in the future.

--He is a brave pioneer. He is neither a recorder that replays the documents of the CPC Central Committee nor an overcautious man who sticks to conventions. In order to achieve the success of the reform, he dares to think what no one has ever thought, dares to do what no one has done before, dares to take the road no one has ever taken, and dares to shoulder the responsibilities no one has ever dared to shoulder. He has a reasonable and critical mind. He acts in a practical spirit. He is faithful but not blind. He is also cautious and creative.

"Nature does not exist, it only lives and elapses." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 451) All things change. China, as a big country, is also changing. It is natural and reasonable to suit measures to the actual situation and act according to the actual situation. Without the spirit of seeking truth from facts and the courage to develop Marxism, how could we have the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and how can we have today's China? So our party cadres should have confidence, courage and vigor, should work creatively, should not fear failure, and should continue to open up new prospects!

--He has a wide range of knowledge. His mind is active and comprehensive. He also has rich experiences. To a pioneer, knowledge is more important than direct experience. Today, how can someone who has no knowledge, no speciality, and no administrative skill deal with this highly developed world? Such a person can neither pioneer a great cause nor maintain the achievements of his predecessors.

Today, without a solid professional basis and rich knowledge, we cannot have active and comprehensive minds. Without active and comprehensive minds, we will not be able to form an effective leadership. So our party cadres in the new period should be a new type of scholars with a wide range of knowledge.

--He is a new type of social activist living amid the circulation of information. Along with the rapid development of science, technology, and culture, the world in which we live is becoming "smaller and smaller," but there will be more and more information and people have become increasingly dependent on information. The sources of information are not only books. The era when dogs and chickens could hear each other, but the masters never communicated with each other has already become a thing of the past. Today,



relations and contacts among the people have far surpassed purely professional contacts and contacts among relatives and neighbors. In this new period, one who lives in a closed system where there are no exchanges of information or energy cannot bring into full play his leading role. So a party cadre should be an active participant in social activities and should be willing to communicate with persons of various circles so as to obtain information from various angles and win more leading initiative.

--He is a sincere and true friend of the masses. Some people only have a one-sided, narrow, and pragmatic understanding of the mass line and mass viewpoints. They think that information can be obtained by holding a public opinion poll or by having talks with those concerned when needed. The contacts between party cadres and the masses should be deep and true. They should not only be work contacts, but also ideological and emotional contacts. The good cadre is one who often and directly talks to the masses and knows that only by doing this can he communicate with the masses and do his work effectively.

The relations between him and the masses are equal relations. They are just like friends. He should not pose as a teacher. The object of his work is the masses, and they are also one of his sources of information. If he poses as a teacher to teach the masses from a high position, he will lose the feelings and faith of the masses and will be unable to get the information he needs. People need to exchange among themselves and help one another. A party cadre is one of them and should not "mold" himself into a faultless image!

When being asked how he achieved such great success, the Danish physicist Niels Bohr, who made important contributions to the founding of quantum mechanics, said: "I am not afraid of exposing my foolishness in front of young people." Only by doing things in Bohr's way can we truly exchange information with each other and help each other. Why shouldn't party cadres in the 1980's have a wider vision than Niels Bohr?

--His remarks are fresh, lively and vivid. I once attended a tea party. The atmosphere of a tea party should be very free, but those who spoke at this tea party only read their prepared speeches, so the people at the party thought it boring and depressing. In a period when people's lifestyles, work styles, and styles of thinking have become increasingly pluralized, if our cadres' remarks are boring and our cadres' minds are conservative and rigid, how can we create a vivid and active political situation?

What the party cadres in the new period say should contain politics, economics, science, philosophy, and literature and should be the combination of all the living words and phrases used in various fields. The remarks of party cadres in the new period should be vivid, active, and simple but clear.

The people and masses have been bored with the unified and stereotyped language belonging to the period of the "gang of four." Let us create a new kind of language that conforms to the period of vigorous reform!

--His work is very fast. With the rapid development of science, technology, and productive forces, working at a slow speed has become a thing of the past. With the rapid development of economic life, time and efficiency have become increasingly important. It is perhaps because of the slow development of the feudal society in our country that a historical phenomenon has formed in the psychology and character of our nation--the slow response to time and the favoring of a slow rhythm. You can see that in our daily life, we often like to "think over" or "leave for tomorrow" things that can be done immediately.

Perhaps, some people think that political work is different from economic work, so political work should not be done at the same speed as economic work. It is because they do not understand that political work serves economic work. If we take economic work as a kind of vibration, then political work is the eternal force that affects its amplitude. Only when the rhythm (frequency) of the external force conforms with the rhythm (frequency) of economic work can "resonance" be produced, which will push economic work forward. Otherwise, economic work will be hindered.

As a party cadre in the new period, he should be an efficient and fast worker. He should not count time in days and weeks, but should count time in hours and minutes. He should speak clearly and simply, respond quickly, and act resolutely.

--His life should be rich and colorful. The reform and the policy of opening up to the world have brought about changes in the lifestyle of our people. Our party cadres should maintain and develop the fine tradition of arduous work. But it does not mean that our party cadres should not care about their appearance. We should not merely stress maintaining the image of "hard work and plain living," which belongs to the years of war. When a female manager of a clothing factory wore beautiful and fashionable dresses, people began to talk about her and said: "She does not look like a factory manager!" When people later discovered that her fashionable dresses had promoted the sales of her products, they stopped talking about her. But, were she a manager of a steel plant, not of a clothing factory, what would the people say about her?

The spirit of working arduously will never become outdated, but its manifestations should conform with the demand of our times.

In a word, the party cadres in the new period should have the image of "a brave pioneer who dares to carry out reforms," and the image of "a creator." Therefore, his style of thinking, work style, lifestyle, and style of speaking should conform with the period of the reform. He should think that it is his responsibility to carry out the reform. The strong sense of responsibility will enable him to earnestly practice what he advocates, fear no danger and not care about the fate of his own "position."

Image is the external form of nature and is the natural manifestation of internal qualities. The creation of a new image, the development of moral qualities and professional ability, and the renewal of concepts will push the cadres forward. Without new qualities and new concepts, there will be no new images. An artificial "new image" will only produce a negative result.

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## ECONOMIC POLICIES AND EDUCATION ABOUT COMMUNIST IDEAS IN THE COURSE OF REFORM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 pp 32-36

[Article by Xu Hongwu [1776 7703 2976]; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The reform taking place in the socialist economic structure is an important form of self-perfection for the socialist system. It is not only a process of economic development, but also a process to promote all-round development of the society. As the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Economic Structure" points out, it will "not only bring about tremendous changes in people's economic life, but will also bring tremendous changes in people's lifestyle and mental attitude." Practice has proved that since the beginning of the economic structural reform, the socialist awareness of the vast masses of people has been relatively greatly heightened, and a large number of advanced people with communist ideals and a communist work style have emerged. This has very good repercussions. However, while building our material civilization, some party member cadres have neglected the construction of our socialist spiritual civilization and thus given rise to many negative and harmful phenomena. This requires that we never neglect the construction of socialist spiritual civilization in the process of the implementation of the economic structural reform and be determined to closely combine the implementation of the current economic policies with the education about communist ideas.

At the various different stages of the communist movement, as the level of development of the productive forces and the revolutionary tasks vary, the economic policies needed also vary. However, throughout the process of the communist movement, communist ideas must be regarded as the guiding ideas, and no other ideas can be regarded as such. During the period of the democratic revolution, we implemented the economic policies of protecting the private ownership of the laborers and the national industrialists and businessmen. However, we could not regard the ideas of the private owners as our criteria for the ideological status of CPC members and revolutionaries, but had to regard the ideas of the working class as the criteria, and encourage people to strive hard with heart and soul for the revolutionary cause of China. During the period of our socialist construction, in order to adapt ourselves to the developmental level of the productive forces at present and in order to give full play to the initiative of the masses, we must implement

flexible and diversified economic policies and should even use foreign capital in a planned manner and develop individual economy to a certain degree, but in terms of our guiding thoughts, we must persist in carrying out education about communist ideas and teach our CPC members, revolutionaries, and people to have firm communist ideals and faith and to exert themselves and forge ahead for the realization of socialism and communism. In his "Speech at the National Conference of Party Delegates," Comrade Deng Xiaoping once again seriously pointed out: "If we do not strengthen the construction of our spiritual civilization, there will be disruptions and twists and turns in our construction of material civilization. It is impossible for our revolution and construction to succeed if we rely only on material conditions. In the past, no matter how weak or small our party was and no matter what difficulties we encountered, we always had great combat effectiveness. This was because we had faith in Marxism and communism." In the period of our socialist construction, if we neglect the construction of our spiritual civilization and if we fail to strengthen the education about communist ideas, it will be impossible for us to very satisfactorily implement our current economic policies.

Our current economic policies are founded on the principle of regarding public ownership of the means of production as the core. An economy with the sector owned by the whole people as the principal sector is precisely the necessary, objective, and realistic foundation for education about communist ideas. At the present stage, although our country allows the development of some types of individual economy and uses foreign capital in a planned manner, it always adheres to the principle of giving the sector of public ownership a priority and a dominant position. Marx pointed out: "In any type of society, there must be a certain kind of production that is in the position and has the influence to dominate all other kinds of production; therefore, the relations of this kind of production also are in the position and have the ability to dominate all other relations. This is a light that shines on everything, covers all other colors, and changes the characteristics of all other things." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 12, p 757) Socialist public ownership is precisely such a light that shines on everything. It restricts and dominates all other forms of economics and guides them to develop in a direction that is favorable for the socialist public ownership system. Therefore, in implementing the economic policies in the process of the reform, we must adhere to the principle of regarding the sector owned by the public as the principal sector. The implementation of these policies should only be conducive to strengthening and developing the economic sector owned by the public and should not weaken or disrupt it. Precisely because the socialist society is established on public ownership of the means of production and because the masses have become masters of the society, the fundamental conditions have thus been created for carrying out education about communist ideas on the scale of the whole society. The viewpoint that holds that there is an "insufficient material foundation" to carry out education about communist ideas in a socialist society and that education "transcends the historical period," is entirely untenable.

The economic policies in the reform will promote the development of people's thoughts. As Marx pointed out: "While changing their own reality,

the people are developing their material production and conducting material contacts, and at the same time changing their thought and the outcome of their thought. It is not consciousness that determines life, but life that determines consciousness." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 31) Reform is readjustment of certain links in the social system. In essence, this readjustment is revolutionary and progressive; therefore, it will certainly bring about revolution and progress in social consciousness. We see that the economic structural reform has widened the field of vision for people's thought, emancipated people's minds, enhanced people's enthusiasm and love for labor, made them respect labor, and promoted the development of the positive idea among the people about making greater contributions to reinvigorating the reform. The stabilization and improvement of people's economic life is conducive to the development and improvement of people's cultural and spiritual lives. The view that holds that in the economic structural reform, the material civilization develops while the spiritual civilization declines, is groundless in theory and does not conform to reality. However, the view that neglects the construction of socialist spiritual civilization on the grounds that when the material civilization develops, the spiritual civilization will automatically catch up, is also wrong.

Of course, how we are to closely combine the current economic policies with education about communist ideas is an issue which we should conscientiously study. In this article, we are going to make an analysis and give an explanation on the relations between some major economic policies and education about communist ideas.

FIRST, THERE IS THE MATTER OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLANNED COMMODITY ECONOMY AND CARRYING OUT EDUCATION ABOUT COMMUNIST IDEAS.

The "Decision" clearly points out: The socialist planned economy is "a planned commodity economy on the foundation of the public ownership." This is a major development of socialist economic theory. Adhering to and implementing this policy is of great significance in promoting the prosperity and development of our country's economy.

We must understand in an all-round and scientific manner the essential difference between the commodity economy under socialist conditions and that under capitalist conditions. Under socialist conditions, the commodity economy is established on the foundation of public ownership of the means of production, is guided and restricted by the planned economy, and regards making the socialist economy prosper and improving the people's living standard as its aim. Under capitalist conditions, however, the commodity economy is established on the foundation of private ownership of the means of production. The main manifestation of this type of economy is the anarchic state of social production. Capitalists regard gaining the greatest possible surplus value as their aim. At the same time, we must also see that there are certain things in common between a commodity economy under socialist conditions and that under capitalist conditions, namely, they are both a commodity economy and they both obey the principle of exchange of equal value that governs commodity exchange.

If we confuse the essential distinction between a commodity economy under socialist conditions and that under capitalist conditions, turn the principle of exchange of equal value related to commodities into the only principle in the sphere of our economic life, and even allow the principle of exchange of equal value related to commodities to erode all spheres of our political, cultural, ideological, and social life, we will give rise to the errors of departmentalism and individualism, and the malpractice of "looking for money in everything." The attitude that we ought to adopt toward the commodity economy is: 1) In developing the commodity economy, it is imperative to pay attention to costs and profits in the economic sphere, but we should by no means regard "making enterprises earn more profit and workers earn more income" as the only aim of the production of our enterprises. Our socialist planning should both follow the law of planned and proportionate development and make use of the law of value. The basic aim of our socialist production is to continue to improve the material and cultural living standard of all the members of our society. This requires us to be sure to unify economic and social results. 2) Although we pay attention to economic results and to accounts related to spiritual products in the sphere of our cultural life such as books, newspapers and journals, films and dramas, the fundamental task of these products is not to earn money but is to improve people's morality and educational level. All the departments in our cultural sphere must regard social results as the highest criterion for all their activities. We must ban all spiritual products that harm people's minds. 3) In the sphere of our political life, we should by no means apply the principle of exchange of equal value. We should by no means turn the ideological relationships among people in our socialist society into monetary or trade relationships. This requires us to strengthen education about communist ideal and discipline in the scope of the whole society, intensify the education in collectivism, and train people to foster the idea of serving the people heart and soul. In short, the aim of our socialist production is by no means to solely pursue profits, disregarding the people's needs and the state plans, doing much work for much profit, doing little work for little profit, and doing no work for no profit. The more greatly we enliven our economy and the more developed our commodity economy, the greater the need to intensify education about communist ideas.

## SECOND, THERE IS THE MATTER OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO LABOR AND EDUCATION ABOUT COMMUNIST IDEAS.

One of the serious defects of the old economic structure is the serious egalitarianism in the sphere of distribution among enterprises and among the laborers in an enterprise. This seriously hinders the work of giving play to the initiative of the staff and workers in our enterprises. One of the important tasks of our economic structural reform is to carry out diverse forms of the production responsibility system; actually combine responsibility, power, and interests; and conscientiously implement the policy of distribution according to labor. Distribution according to labor is a socialist distribution principle and is consistent in essence with education about communist ideas. Implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor helps people to foster the good morality

of loving labor, taking good care of the results of labor, and safeguarding socialist public ownership. However, compared to the communist principle of distribution according to needs, distribution according to labor is still a principle of unequal rights. Therefore, owing to the diverse differences in laborers' subjective conditions, such as differences in their physical strength, mental ability, and the extent that they exert themselves, and owing to their different objective working conditions, in implementing the principle of distribution according to labor, we can only manage to act in a roughly and comparatively rational manner. It is impossible for us to be absolutely rational. Therefore, in implementing the principle of distribution according to labor, we must pay attention to overcoming the narrow-mindedness that makes people preoccupied with their own personal gains and losses. In the ideological sphere, we must advocate the communist labor attitude of working hard regardless of remuneration. Otherwise, people will be apt to have the hired hand mentality of "doing their work for money" and "working only to the extent they are paid." This will not only hinder the construction of socialist spiritual civilization, but will also impede the implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor.

THIRD, THERE IS THE MATTER OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLICY OF SEPARATING THE POWER OF OWNERSHIP FROM MANAGEMENT POWER IN OUR ENTERPRISES OWNED BY THE WHOLE PEOPLE AND EDUCATION ABOUT COMMUNIST IDEAS.

The "Decision" clearly puts forth the policy of separating ownership power from management power in our enterprises owned by the whole people. This is of decisive significance in freeing our state organs from concrete management affairs, enabling them to concentrate their energy on giving play to their economic functions in commanding things related to the entire situation, and enabling our enterprises to become relatively independent economic entities full of vigor. However, after the implementation of this policy, the economic power of our enterprises will be expanded. Under the new situation, they will be faced with the problem of how they are to correctly handle the relationship between the interests of the enterprises as collectives and the interests of the state. The problems in this area are to some extent due to the loopholes in our imperfect system. For example, the demarcation lines of our policies are not clear, there is an insufficient and irrational application of our economic levers, there is imperfect and unsatisfactory economic legislation, and there is a lack of vigor in the state's necessary economic intervention in our enterprises. All of these have caused some enterprises to adopt the practice of "taking measures to counter state policies." On the other hand, there are also problems related to our management thought. Some enterprise leaders have forgotten the lofty goal of communism and the principle of serving the people heart and soul. They hold that "reform is aimed at earning money for the collectives and individuals" and have begun to seek money in everything. Some factory directors and managers have even colluded with the workers to steal money from the state. Some have invented excuses to interfere with the state's unified plans. Some have harmed the overall interests of the state on the excuse of pursuing welfare for the staff and workers of their own units, inventing excuses to pay excessive bonuses or distribute public

property among individuals without authorization. Some have blindly pursued profits, falsely overrated their output value, and falsified their accounts to evade taxes. Some have even violated the law by manufacturing fake medicine and wine. We should mainly rely on perfecting our economic policies and strengthening our economic legislation to solve these problems, but while perfecting our economic system, we must vigorously intensify the education about communist ideas. We must clarify the socialist nature of our reforms to the vast number of staff and workers, particularly the leading cadres at all levels, and teach all of them to correctly handle the relationships among the interests of the state, collective, and individual. A leader of our socialist enterprise should first of all represent the interests of the socialist state and must not encroach on the state's interests in favor of the interests of the collectives or individuals.

FOURTH, THERE IS THE MATTER OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE POLICY OF OPENING UP TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD AND EDUCATION ABOUT COMMUNIST IDEAS.

Opening up to the outside world is a major state policy for our country in carrying out its socialist construction. It is conducive to our planned use of foreign capital and to advanced science, technology, and management experience. It is also conducive to our assimilation of the fine achievements of the science and culture of various countries in the world and to speeding up our country's socialist construction.

From the point of view of the major aspects of the policy of opening up to the outside world, it is consistent with the construction of our socialist spiritual civilization. It is wrong to hold that the policy of opening up to the outside world will only give rise to a scene of an "oasis of material civilization in a desert of spiritual civilization." However, we must also see that our current policy of opening up to the outside world is mainly carried out to open up to developed capitalist countries. While a socialist country is establishing economic relations with capitalist countries and introducing from them lots of useful things, it will inevitably get some infiltration of decayed capitalist thoughts and style, which can cause a variety of activities in violation of the law. For example, there is the infiltration of the bourgeois profit-before-everything and money-worship mentality, dirty and pornographic cultural trash, and the emergence of trafficking in contraband. We must be fully aware of this and keep a sober mind. On the one hand, we should resolutely crack down on various criminal activities, and on the other hand, we should strengthen our ideological and political work, strengthen education about communist ideas among the vast number of party members, cadres, and masses, and resist the corruption of decadent capitalist ideology, thus maintaining the purity of our thoughts and enabling our people, particularly our younger generation, to be free from the erosion of decadent capitalist ideology. In carrying out the work of communist ideological education, we must also proceed from facts and work purposefully as we do in carrying out all other work. Only by so doing can we achieve good results. This requires us to carry out different levels of ideological education in light of the different status of different people.



First, we must adopt a clear-cut stand to carry out education about communist ideals and faith. This is education of the highest level in a socialist society. Communist ideals are the core of our socialist spiritual civilization and our true advantage. Once we have fostered lofty communist ideals, we will have sufficient strength to overcome whatever difficulties may occur. What we mean by ideals includes two aspects--social ideals and personal ideals, of which the latter is of decisive significance. In conducting the education about ideals, we should be good at combining education about social ideals with education about personal ideals to fight for the realization of the communist society, and our personal ideals must be subordinate to this great goal. Social ideals are not void of meaning, abstract, or unrealistically lofty, but are embodied in the concrete contents of people's personal ideals. Only when our personal ideals are guided by social ideals can we avoid going astray.

Carrying out education about communist ideals and faith cannot be divorced from the study of Marxist theory. Only by studying Marxist theory can we thoroughly understand the law governing social development and thus base our communist ideals and faith on a more conscious and scientific foundation. Only by studying Marxist theory can we master correct methodology, become able to analyze and solve the problems related to our practice of socialism, and thus be able to turn our lofty ideals into the actual deeds in fighting for the cause of socialism.

Second, we must pay attention to widely carrying out education about socialist patriotism, socialist humanism, socialist professional ethics, matrimonial and family ethics, social ethics, and so forth. All of them are the contents of the second level of education. The principal contents of education about socialist patriotism include having deep love for one's motherland, supporting the unification of the motherland, safeguarding the independence and sovereignty of the motherland, and making contributions to the prosperity of the motherland. The basic requirements of the education about socialist humanism are to respect and to be concerned for the people and to sympathize with and help those who are in difficulties. The basic requirements of the education about professional ethics are having deep love for one's job, endeavoring to gain professional proficiency, raising the level of work, improving the quality of service, and observing the labor and work disciplines. The contents and requirements of this education are related to the education about communist ideas. In essence, both types of education advocate collectivism, combat egoism, and directly promote the development of the socialist cause.

Third, we must strengthen education about observing the law. This is also a kind of comparatively low level of education and involves a great deal, because every member in the society must receive education about observing the law regardless of his age, occupation, or creed. Observing the law is the minimum duty of each citizen and is also the minimum condition for the survival of a society. In our current reforms, we must stress strengthening the education about observing economic laws and regulations. All our economic workers, particularly the leaders of our enterprises, must steadfastly foster the idea of observing the law in managing their enterprises. Those who violate economic laws and regulations will face legal punishment.

Carrying out a comparatively low level of ideological education helps our people heighten their political consciousness from their current level and enables the comparatively low level of a sense of morality to develop toward that of the highest level. Because it takes time to heighten people's moral standards, only through a long time of training and tempering can people actually foster lofty communist ideas.

The implementation of our economic policies in the reform has provided indispensable objective conditions for carrying out education about communist ideas. The development of education about communist ideas also provides the necessary ideological guarantee for the implementation of economic policies in the reform. Only by combining the implementation of economic policies with the practice of strengthening the education in communist ideas can we ensure the success of the reform of our economic structure and ensure our country's modernization program will forge ahead triumphantly along the proper path.

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## THE CHOICE OF YOUTH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 pp 37-38

[Article by Zhang Guoping [1728 0948 1627], captain of Company No 7 of a certain regiment of the Yunnan border troops]

[Text] In July 1979, I graduated from a senior middle school and had to make the first choice of my life at the age of 17. I was the best in my class and my teachers and schoolmates advised me to sit for the matriculation examination to enter a well-known college and select a good specialty course to study. However, in February that year, war broke out in our southern border areas. Stories about the heroes fighting the war against Vietnam were broadcast over the air. When I associated my previous longing for a beautiful future with the reality of fighting on the border, I thought about many things. How could the people in the back enjoy their happy life if the fighters and commanders had not shed their blood and given their lives in the front? How could we have begun to talk about the peace and prosperity of our country and the stable and well-off life of our people, if the servicemen along the border had not fought arduous battles? From that time, I had a new understanding of life, an affection for servicemen, and admired the serviceman's lofty mission of defending the country and people. Therefore, when I heard the news that military colleges were recruiting students in the localities, I resolutely made entry to military college my first choice and actually realized this desire. Through 3 years of regular, diligent, strict, and systematic study and training, I obtained a college certificate with distinction, was selected as one of the two "excellent students" among the 199 graduates and was presented personally by the president of the college on the school platform, a certificate for "excellent student."

In August 1982, I left college and came to a remote mountainous area to take a job in Company No 4 in a certain infantry regiment. The living conditions there were very bad and some fighters wrote ragged verse, which said, "Drinking water is as expensive as food oil, mountains obstruct our way and field of vision, and below us there is a steep and deep valley." Soon I was once more to make a choice. The offices of the military region wanted to select cadres and transfer them to posts in offices. I was one of the candidates. Was I to return to Kunming and take a job in offices or to stay at the company at the basic level? I grew up in Kunming, with my parents, relatives,

and friends. If I had worked by my parents' side, I would have helped them enjoy more family happiness. Of course, this was what they longed for. Furthermore, this would have made my girlfriend happy when she learned about it. However, without any hesitation I chose to stay. When the comrades from the offices of the military region came to solicit my opinion, I clearly expressed my desire to stay at the company. Later, the leaders and teachers in the Kunming Infantry Academy, who knew me well, repeatedly asked me whether I was willing to return to the academy to take up the job as a teacher or team leader, but I politely refused all offers.

The choices in one's life are often involved with the relationship between career and love. In the second year of my college study, I fell in love with a dignified and well-behaved girl who was a friend of mine during my childhood. However, when I was assigned to the job in a remote border area after graduation from the military academy, our love was on the verge of breaking up because she and her family began to change their minds. If I had wished to maintain that love, I would have been able to do so. I could have asked the leaders and teachers of the college for help and they would have transferred me to a job in the college thus moving me away from the "dangerous area." But I did not. I thought about the revolutionary martyr Lin Juemin's "Letter to My Wife" and about a soldier's lofty understanding and sacred duty in defending the motherland. Therefore, I concealed my sorrow for the disappointment in my love affair and returned to my company before the end of my leave.

There are diverse choices in a man's life. In making the choice between life and death, I think that as a revolutionary serviceman one should make the following choice: "We would rather be killed to advance a step forward than save our lives by withdrawing half a step." At dawn on 30 April, the war broke out to recover Zheyin Shan. Before the battle, at an oath-taking rally held by our company, I was the first to mount the platform and resolutely express my decision: I am deputy company commander and an "academic officer" who has never directed fighting and needs steeling and tempering in battle. I will lead the platoon that fights at the forefront. I will never retreat even if I have to die on the battlefield. In the fighting, I will go to a dangerous position to direct the fighting. At the beginning of the fighting, I took Platoon No 1 to thrust deep into the enemy at the forefront of our company. When the advance of Platoon No 1 was obstructed, I immediately sought instructions from the company headquarters and asked that Platoon No 2 be allowed to make a flank attack on the enemy at a certain height and that I go to Platoon No 2 to command it. After getting the consent of the company headquarters, I quickly went to Platoon No 2, which had just taken a height and was in high morale. I followed up the victory and led the platoon to make a fierce charge. It took us 9 minutes to take another height.

Platoon No 2 had taken three heights in succession and wanted to continue to fight despite tiredness. It again asked to attack the headquarters of the enemy battalion. At that time, I lost contact with the company headquarters. Should we wait or continue the attack? After discussing the matter with Platoon Leader Ma, a decision was promptly made: Squad No 4

stayed at the seized height to hold the gate tight and Squads No 5 and 6 continued the fierce attack along the highway. After the deployment, I waved my gun and said to the comrades: "It is time to test us. Follow me quickly!" Platoon Leader Ma ran ahead of us all and rushed toward the enemy battalion headquarters with a submachine gun in his hands. With the cooperation of Platoons No 1 and 3, we took the enemy positions at one stroke.

In that battle, I received a Merit Citation Class II and our company was granted the glorious title "Zheyin Shan Deep-Trust Hero Company" by the Kunming Military Region. When I wore the merit citation medal walking through the triumph gate, and was warmly welcomed by people of various nationalities, I felt deeply that I had made the correct choice and that it was the highest honor to dedicate my youth to the motherland and the people.

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## IDEALS GLITTER IN THE BORDER AREAS OF THE MOTHERLAND

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[Article by Zeng Sheng [2582 3932], deputy instructor of a certain company of the Faka Shan garrison force]

[Text] Ideal is a word which inspires people. Different people will have different interpretations and different ways to pursue it. What, then, are the ideals of the fighters in the border areas? This war poem is popular in the Faka Shan: "So long as the spirit is true, I do not mind being put at a disadvantage; I am willing to suffer alone if it brings happiness to 1 billion people." This is the common aspiration of our fighters in the Faka Shan and is our common answer to the question of ideals. It is this lofty ideal which inspires us to serve the country and be willing to suffer and stay in the border areas.

My home is in Xinye County, Guangdong Province and my family is rich because both my grandfathers are doing business respectively in Singapore and Malaysia. In early 1979, my 70-year-old grandfather wrote me and asked me to go abroad to help him run his business and he had already processed the travel documents. It was at this same time that conscription work commenced. There were two roads in front of me: either to go abroad to do business or to be a soldier and safeguard the motherland. This was an important matter which would affect my whole life. When my parents learned about my wish to be a soldier, they said: "My boy, you will have a house to live in and money to spend when you go to your grandfather. Life will be easy for you. You'd better make all the preparations and go." I understood my parents' feelings but I understood more that it is the obligation of youth to safeguard the motherland. Subsequently, I persuaded my parents with the theory that "there will be no home without a country," and then enrolled in the army and went to the border in Guangxi.

Our company lived in the mountains where conditions were unfavorable and life was boring. Also, we always had to be prepared to shed our blood. At certain moments, I also felt that the life of a soldier was too tiring and too tough and I became less interested in my job. Not long after this, the company carried out education for us on patriotism and revolutionary heroism. The instructor told us stories of the company's heroes: Liang Yingrui, Yang Chaofen, and Liang Tianwei, and led us to pay respects to the

martyrs' graves. The instructor also arranged for us to visit the camps which had been destroyed by the guns and bombs of the Vietnamese Army and organized us to denounce the enemy's crimes in invading our land and killing our people along the border. I was enlightened by all this. I began to realize that the motherland's border areas need to be safeguarded and that we should live and fight like the heroes. From then onward, I was able to overcome my own erroneous thinking and began to do a good job in my work.

My grandfather wrote me again in May 1981, asking our whole family to go abroad when I was well prepared to do something in defense of the border. My father then submitted applications to the relevant departments and wrote to me asking me to prepare to leave the army. When some fellow soldiers learned about this, they also persuaded me to go. I knew that I would gain more material benefits in my grandfather's place than in Faka Shan, but after all, the motherland was more lovely than a foreign country. I then reaffirmed by determination to defend against the enemy at the border to my parents. Shortly after this, I followed the company and came to Faka Shan which had just been recovered, standing severe tests. When my service was completed at the end of 1982, my family wrote to me again and asked me to go abroad. At the same time, my superiors were thinking of keeping me in Faka Shan as a mainstay and sought my opinion. I said: "If Faka Shan needs me, I am willing to stay all my life."

I gave up the opportunity to go abroad to do business on three different occasions over the past few years, and was willing to stay on the border suffering hardships and risking my life amid guns and bombs. I gained support from a lot of comrades in making this choice. On the border, I always received letters from my friends, praising me for my ideals and courage. Some people asked this question: "Why do you choose to stay here suffering hardships and risking your life when you have the chance to go abroad and live a stable life?" I always answered that I was inspired by communist ideals and beliefs and was influenced by my fellow fighters' spirit of sacrificing their lives and overcoming various difficulties in the course of fighting the enemy. Over the past years, I have devoted all my heart and my body to the cause of safeguarding the border while I was stationed in Faka Shan. Despite rainy weather, my fellow fighters and I worked round the clock to patrol the border, we have carried out life-and-death struggles with the enemy and smashed their sabotage plots, and have done our best in safeguarding construction on the border. I was awarded a third-class honor on two occasions, I was commended as an "exemplary party member" by the Guangzhou Military Region; I have also won a silver medal in the national activity of commending and selecting good children on the border.

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CSO: 4004/14

FOR THE WELL-BEING OF 1 BILLION PEOPLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 pp 39-40

[Article by Zhou Shenhui [0719 1957 6540], a soldier of the 3d Company of a certain regiment of the Yunnan Border Defense Force]

[Text] I joined the army in January 1984 from Jingshan County in Hubei. Before I joined, my family had bought a tractor and I and my brother engaged in transport work with it. Each month we could take in 300-400 yuan. My family also had 5 mu of fish ponds, in which fish were being raised. In addition, they raised over 400 ducks. The family's income each year exceeded 10,000 yuan. At the end of 1983, after the call-up work commenced, I enthusiastically registered to join the army. On hearing that I wanted to join the army, many people in the village could not believe it. Some said: "How can he give up this work where he makes so much money, and go into the army where he will draw a few yuan in subsidy?" Others asked of me: "With such good family conditions, why must you go and suffer in the army?" The woman I am going to marry also disagreed at first. She said: "We are getting married next year. Why must you go charging off?" On hearing these comments and this advice, I also had to give the decision repeated thought. It was true that if I left to be a soldier, there would be no one to operate the family's tractor and their income would be reduced. However, was it not through the good policies of the party that the family was able to become prosperous? How then could I just concern myself with my own family and be unwilling to concern myself with the state? If one's family is prosperous and for this reason one does not want to do military service, who will protect the state? My decision was not shaken by these comments and, after doing some ideological work to convince my fiancée, I happily came here to join the forces.

In March this year, we took on the task of doing defensive battle with the Vietnamese on the Laoshan front line. When I and my comrades-in-arms were preparing to go forward to the battlefield, the company political branch decided that I should stay behind to look after the things which my comrades-in-arms could not take to the battle. On hearing this news, I was extremely upset and that night went looking for the company commander and political instructor. Only after repeated requests did they finally allow me to go to a high position in the furthest forward position on the front line.



As we stuck fast to this high position, we had the enemy on three sides, in front, behind and to the left. The No 6 post, which I and three comrades-in-arms were holding, was the most isolated and furthest forward of the company's posts. The Vietnamese post was above us and not far away. The Cat's-Ear Cave, which we were guarding was only 60 centimeters wide, 70 centimeters high and only 2 meters-plus long, with a bend in the middle. With four of us squeezed in there, there was no room to do anything but squat. Because our post was tightly blockaded by the Vietnamese fire, the mess could only bring us one meal every 2 days, and we mainly relied on eating compressed biscuits. At the beginning, we thought the taste was all right, but as we ate them day after day, meal after meal, just looking at them was enough. And, as we lacked water, it was even more difficult to swallow them. Drinking water was the biggest problem. When the battles raged, sometimes for 3 or 4 days we would have no water to drink. We were extremely thirsty and I and my comrades-in-arms would lick the damp walls of the cave. One time, with no water, we actually endured for 8 days, and only after we had repulsed the enemy attacks were our comrades-in-arms able to bring us food and water.

Here, it certainly is tough and there is no way to compare the conditions with those at home. However, I still feel that it is the glorious task of the border defense troops to suffer this harshness for the motherland and for the people. In order to express our feelings, I and the other three comrades-in-arms used the intervals between fighting to write a couplet on the wall of Cat's-Ear Cave. The first line ran: "In defending the borders, there is suffering in sweetness and sweetness in suffering. One person suffers and 10,000 people feel the benefits." The second line went: "In protecting the southern frontiers, family unity will lack, but in this lack, there will be a unity. While one family is not united, 10,000 families will be together." The horizontal inscription read: "Forever among them."

In the early morning of 15 August, a strong enemy force used the cover provided by the mist and launched an attack on our post. During the battle, the deputy squad commander Li Guanghe died a martyr's death, Chen Wenlong sustained severe injuries, Wang Sheng was shell-shocked and I was hit by three bullets in my abdomen and legs. Taking advantage of a lull in the fighting, I quickly bound the wounds of my two comrades-in-arms. With great difficulty, I managed to get the lightly wounded Wang Sheng to take Chen Wenlong, who was severely injured, back to camp before the dawn. I fully understood that at any time I could be struck down in the same way as the deputy squad commander. However, I was not frightened. I only wanted to put down a few last words to leave for my family, to express my pledge to fight to the death in defending the southern frontier. I found an empty can, took off its label and wrote these few words upon it: "Dearest Father and Mother, I am now the only person left at the post and may have to sacrifice myself for the nation at any time. In protecting the state and the well-being of millions of fathers and mothers, I am entirely loyal to the state and have no regrets. I am not the slightest bit timid or afraid, because after my death, there will still be the great motherland, my dear father and mother, my comrades-in-arms and my brothers. After my 'glory' do not be sad for me, but be proud that I died a glorious martyr's death!"

After I finished writing, my feelings were calm. On the one hand, I observed the enemy's activities and called for artillery fire to neutralize the enemy. On the other hand, I quickly carried out preparations for fighting. I opened two boxes of hand grenades and put charges in all the grenades. The sky gradually darkened, the enemy guns also gradually abated and the enemy infantry began to attack. Before the fierce battle, I suddenly thought of a method of using "a golden hook to catch fish" to meet the enemy. As the enemy had several times waged sneak attacks, to the right and rear of the post I set up three hand grenades with pull-strings to set them off. In front of the post, I set up 10 grenades attached to trip wires. Twenty minutes later, eight or nine of the enemy were climbing the hill in front of me. Even when they had climbed to within 10 or so meters of me, I still lay prone and motionless in the mouth of Cat's-Ear Cave. The enemy, thinking that there was no one on guard, plucked up courage and moved forward. When they were 7 or 8 meters away from me, they set off the trip-wired grenades I had set up. Following this, I also flung five grenades. The enemy was surprised, turned tail and fled to the right. I waited for the right moment and then pulled the strings to set off the three grenades on that side. The enemy, alarmed and bewildered, fled again, leaving behind several bodies. After 10 minutes or so, they launched another attack, and I beat them back in the same way. On this day, I single-handedly protected the post for 16 hours, killed 11 of the enemy and gave instructions to the artillery which resulted in more of the enemy being killed or injured.

In the deep of the night, support troops arrived. The platoon leader, on finding out that I had been wounded in three places, ordered me to go back. I felt that the situation at the post was quite complicated and requested the platoon leader to allow me to stay for several more days. Thus, I guarded the post until the evening of 13 September, when the political instructor came to our post. On seeing that my three wounds were festering, he ordered me to go back "on pain of death." Only then did I leave Cat's-Ear Cave.

Now, the three bullets have been removed from my body, my wounds have basically healed and, as on the firing line I had joined the party, I have been cited for first-class meritorious service. I have vivid memories of the Laoshan front line and my comrades-in-arms who struggled in Cat's-Ear Cave, bathed in blood. In order to protect the motherland, protect the well-being of the people in the border areas, and to complete the unfulfilled wishes of martyred comrades-in-arms, after completing my report I wish to return to the front line. I wish to continue the life and struggles of Cat's-Ear Cave on the very front line.

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CSO: 4004/14

## DO NOT WORK BO LE TO DEATH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 p 41

[Article by Wu Hao]

[Text] What Bo Le was good at was selecting horses. Han Yu said: "Only when there are people like Bo Le can there be horses that cover 1,000 li a day." Recently, I have read some articles that add many tasks to Bo Le without justification. They want him to love horses after discovering their good abilities. Then they want him to raise horses in addition to loving them. Then they want him to protect horses in addition to raising them. Then they want him to train horses in addition to protecting them. Then they want him to send the horses to the right places... It seems that they want to assign him all-round responsibility for everything related to "horses." This has made me worry that they may thus work Bo Le to death.

In carrying out the four modernizations program, it is necessary to "respect knowledge and talented people." Therefore, we have an even greater demand for the knowledge that can "distill knowledge" and the talented people who can "discover talented people." In selecting and promoting successors to the leading posts at various levels, if we can choose horses that can cover 1,000 li a day for these posts with the wise eyes of Bo Le and thus enable us to have successors to our revolution and construction, we will find doing our work easy. By so doing, the old generation of revolutionaries will rest at ease and Bo Le will have fulfilled his "task." As for how the horses that can cover 1,000 li a day are to show their ability on the battlefields and grasslands, that is a question that concerns the horses themselves and we had better not interfere with them. However, if we continue to hold the bridles tight and do not allow the horses to run, how can a horse that can cover 1,000 li a day actually do it? How can Bo Le prove that his choice is correct? If one does not trust or have confidence in the horse he chooses, one may be merely a man who passes himself off as a Bo Le. I think that if a Bo Le undertakes the tasks of protecting, raising, and accompanying horses on their ride after selecting them, he is asking for trouble for himself.

In its proper sense, there is nothing wrong in the practice of "helping a new leader take the post and do his work for a while in the beginning." The question is how long this process should last. There is no objective

criterion for this, and everyone understands this question in his own specific way. Some people help the new cadres work endlessly. I once attended a get-together at a factory in a certain area and heard a veteran comrade, who had been transferred to a post at an upper-level organ but who continued to work concurrently as the CPC committee secretary of the factory, say to the comrades in the new leading group: I have spent 3 years selecting you, but I now continue to work as party secretary concurrently. This is because I want to have you receive training under me for 3 years. Then I will watch you work for another 3 years. After that, you will be able to work on your own. I asked how old the comrades of the new leading group were and found that most of them were over 40. Oh god, after 6 years, it will be time for them to hand over the jobs to their successors. We cannot say that the veteran comrade meant anything bad, but he wanted to help his successors for too long a time indeed.

Recently, I saw an article written by Comrade Bai Dongcai, the first secretary of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee. In his article, he said: Previously, I also said that we had to help the comrades in the new leading group to take their posts and do their work for a time in the beginning, and now I would like to replace this idea by a new one, namely, "We should help a new leader take the post and let him freely do his work himself." I have been completely convinced by Comrade Bai Dongcai's viewpoints. A man like that is a true Bo Le rather than a man who passes himself off as a Bo Le, therefore he will not be worked to death.

Of course, there is some exaggeration in the idea of "working Bo Le to death." What I mean is that people must not assign Bo Le any extra tasks, nor must Bo Le broadly take on everything. By so doing, the replacement of a veteran comrade by a new comrade can be carried out smoothly. A major scheme of lasting importance has been already worked out in our reforms, it is necessary for the scheme to be guaranteed by our personnel system, so that we can ensure the continuity of our policies. Therefore, young comrades must not unduly rely upon veteran comrades and veteran comrades must trust and have confidence in new comrades. At the National Conference of Party Delegates, which was convened recently, many veteran comrades resigned from their leading posts and thus let young and comparatively young comrades take their posts. This is worth learning from. It has not only proved that our party's cause is prosperous and has its successors but also shows that in our party, there is really a large number of Bo Le's who know how to select horses. It shows that they are noble and are magnanimous and they have full confidence in our country and in our younger generations. Only among the selfless vanguards of the proletariat can there be such a "group of Bo Le's."

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## A TENTATIVE PROGRAM ON REFORMING THE TEACHING OF THE MARXIST THEORETICAL COURSES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 pp 42-44

[Article by the Beijing University CPC Committee; first paragraph is RED FLAG editor's note]

[Text] A conscientious and systematic reform in the teaching of the Marxist theoretical courses in our schools is an important task of the ideological, theoretical, and educational work at present. In the past, under the leadership of central leading comrades, many higher education institutes have investigated, studied, and probed this reform and some institutions have already drawn up their initial reform plans. This article by the Beijing University CPC Committee briefs us on their tentative ideas on the reform and the measures that they plan to adopt. These can be referred to by the people in various areas.

Since the founding of the PRC, like all other institutions of higher education, Beijing University has universally set up courses of philosophy, political economy, and the history of the CPC in all specialties and departments there. Practice has proved that this has played an important role in enabling the university to adhere to the socialist orientation and training Red and expert talented people for the socialist construction. However, as our era advances and history develops, in particular, since our country realized the great historical turn under the guidance of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there have been great changes in the situation and tasks for our institutions of higher education, and also in the environment, conditions, and objects of teaching. The existing Marxist theory courses are to various extents not suited to the requirements of the development of the situation in terms of their syllabi, and teaching contents and methods; therefore, they urgently need reform. Recently, on the basis of investigation, study, and the summing up of experience, we have integrated the spirit of the CPC Central Committee's circular on reform in ideological and ethical education and the teaching of political theoretical courses in the schools and the relevant speeches of the central leaders with the reality in our university and proposed a tentative program on reforming the teaching of the Marxist theoretical courses in the Beijing University. We plan to gradually implement this initial program through making experiment with its implementation among the new students recruited in 1985.

In the process of discussing and formulating the reform program, we have further clarified the following: First, in the new historical period, the teaching of the Marxist theoretical courses must be intensified instead of weakened. For this is an important indicator for the adherence to the four basic principles by our institutions of higher education and is what makes the socialist higher education differ in essence from the capitalist one. It is also a fundamental measure to train high-grade professionals who have ideals and morality, are well educated, and observe discipline. However, only through a clearly effective reform can we really intensify this teaching. Second, the idea put forth by Comrade Deng Xiaoping that "the education should be geared to the needs of the modernization program, the world, and the future," has pointed out the correct orientation for the work of training talented people in our institutions of higher education. Like the teaching of other courses in our university, the teaching of the Marxist theoretical courses should also satisfy the needs of the above-mentioned task of "being geared to the needs of the modernization program, the world, and the future," meet the demand of the new situation, tasks, and objects of teaching and be closely related to the development of our times. In this teaching, we should pay attention to including a summing up of the new experience in our socialist construction and the new achievements in the development of science, technology, and culture. These courses should be able to answer the major questions which interest the students, in an environment of enlivening the economy at home. By so doing, we will enable the teaching to have greater combat effectiveness, make it more convincing and interesting, and thus enable it to play an even more effective role in helping our students foster a revolutionary outlook on life and a scientific world outlook. Third, just as Lenin said, Marxism "is by no means a stereotyped theory that is self-satisfied and refuses to make progress and that deviates from the development of civilization in the world. On the contrary, all Marx' gifts lay in the fact that he answered the various questions that had been asked by the advanced thinking of the human race." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 441) When we are teaching, we should first be clear that Marxism is not an isolated theory, but is the fundamental scientific principles and methods that are the outcome of a highly comprehensive summing up of human wisdom, a summing up that proceeds from the reality of history and revolution. Therefore, we should make our students not only learn and memorize some existing theses, but also have a relatively deep and extensive understanding of the historical conditions and the relevant knowledge that gave rise to Marxism. At the same time, we should make them understand quite deeply and extensively the various kinds of different social ideological trends and social systems in order to enable them to better master Marxism through acquiring a knowledge of the development of history and through making comparison and distinction. Second, we should be clear that the basic principles of Marxism are correct for practice throughout the world and also that these principles continue to develop as events and other sciences develop. Therefore, in our teaching, we must implement the ideological line of proceeding from facts, integrating theory with practice, seeking truth from facts and checking and developing truth through practice. We must meet the demands resulting from our economic construction, social development and scientific and technological progress, and thus enable our students to closely combine their study with

the practice of the construction of a socialism with Chinese characteristics, and learn living Marxism. For this purpose, the division of the Marxist theory courses should be more intensive, the contents of the courses should be enriched and readjusted, and the teaching methods should be reformed. Fourth, there are many specialities and departments in a higher education institution and students are different in thousands of ways. As in teaching any other course, "uniformity" should not be pursued in the teaching of the Marxist theoretical courses. Under the precondition of the same basic requirements, we should allow the students of different specialities to make appropriate selection of their courses in light of their actual needs and thus make the teaching more relevant for them and heighten their initiative in studying.

Based on the above-mentioned understanding, in our new program we changed the three original courses on the Marxist theory that we give to all the students in our university into three categories of courses on Marxist theory.

The first category is basic principles of Marxism. This category is required to expound on the process of the emergence, enriching, and development of the basic principles of Marxism in the light of the modern history of economy, politics and thought, and to help students, through analyzing socialism and capitalism in our era, master the stand, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism, clearly understand the law governing the development of society, and foster communist ideals and faith. There are three courses in this category: 1) The emergence and development of scientific socialism. This course focuses on expounding on the emergence of the theory of scientific socialism, the general program of communism and the enriching and development of the theory of scientific socialism since Marx and Engels in the light of the modern history of the world, the history of communist movements and the history of human knowledge. 2) Philosophy. At present, the middle school philosophy courses focus on expounding on dialectical materialism, so our institutions of higher education can focus on teaching the basic viewpoints of historical materialism and help students to master the correct stand and methods of observing society. The philosophy courses for a small number of specialities of philosophy and social sciences and theories will continue to teach both dialectical and historical materialism. 3) The theories on imperialism and contemporary capitalism. This focuses on expounding on Lenin's theory on imperialism and applying Marxist views to analyzing the basic characteristics and development trend of contemporary capitalism. We should analyze not only developed capitalist countries, but also the developing countries and regions that are embarking on a capitalist road, evaluate Western economic thought, and help deepen students' understanding of the essential characteristics of capitalism and the trend of history. All three courses are compulsory. Each course takes a term and the whole category takes 1 and 1/2 years in all.

The second category is Chinese revolution and socialist construction. This category of courses is required to focus on the basic issues of Chinese revolution and construction, combine the teaching of theory with the narration of history, expound on the application and development of Marxism in

China, and help students understand the characteristics of modern Chinese society and the laws governing the development of society, and realize the truth that there would have been no new China without the CPC and that only socialism can save China. At the same time, we should enable them to be clear of the historical tasks, fighting goals, and development prospects for China and thus make them consciously plunge into the practice of building a socialism with Chinese characteristics. There are two courses in the category: 1) The history of the Chinese revolution (basic issues of the Chinese revolution for some departments of social science). This course takes one school term and is compulsory. 2) China's socialist construction. At present, it focuses on expounding theory and practice related to the socialist construction. It also takes one term and is compulsory.

The third category consists of other courses related to philosophy and social sciences. These courses are given in order to enable the students to better learn and master the basic principles of Marxism and apply these principles to guiding their practice. At our university, we can mobilize and organize competent teachers in the arts and sciences departments to give a series of courses on philosophy and social sciences which are permeated with Marxist principles and allow our students to select some of them to study. For example, the courses of the dialectics of nature, philosophical problems in natural sciences, current world politics and international relations, evaluation of contemporary Western ideological trends, contemporary international communist movement, Marxist ethics, and Marxist esthetics. Science students must select at least one of these courses and arts students must choose at least three.

According to the above-mentioned plan, the total number of school hours allocated to the study of the Marxist theoretical courses remains unchanged, but variety of the courses is increased and students have greater freedom to choose their courses. This facilitates giving play to their own study initiative.

Concerning reform in teaching methods, we have put forward the following aspects of reform in the new program centered on practicing the elicitation methods of teaching: First, we should organize the students to conscientiously read a certain number of Marxist classics, such as the "Communist Manifesto," the "Development of Socialism From Utopian Socialism to Scientific Socialism," "Ludwig Feuerbach and the Summing Up of German Classic Philosophy," "Imperialism Is the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Comrade Mao Zedong's relevant works, and the important documents of the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Second, we should act according to Lenin's instruction, and pay attention to "using the knowledge about basic facts to develop and improve the students' power of thinking." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 348) In particular, when we teach the courses on the basic principles of Marxism, we should not proceed from abstract theses and principles, but should proceed from the concrete to the abstract and from phenomena to essence, and expound, by citing many facts, on the thesis that Marxism is the outcome of the development of the cultural and scientific knowledge of the human race, that it is a scientific summing up of the laws governing the development of human



society, and that it has not only summed up the past, but also opened up a broad path and pointed out a magnificent prospect for people to continue to understand and transform the world, and thus enable our students to both horizontally and vertically realize that Marxism is a developing scientific theory. Third, we should pay attention to the satisfactory application of the teaching method of organizing class discussions among students, rouse the students to ask questions and discuss things with them on the basis of reading the books and knowing the necessary relevant knowledge, and help them get the correct answers under the guidance of their teachers.

In order to do a good job of reforming the teaching of the Marxist theoretical courses, in organizing the work force, on the one hand, we should pay attention to stabilizing and improving the existing contingent of Marxist theoretical teachers in order to give full play to their role and urge them to go all out in doing a good job of reforming their teaching. On the other hand, we should also pay attention to giving play to the advantages of a university and organize the relevant teachers of other specialities of the departments of philosophy and social sciences and a small number of science teachers to take part in teaching the Marxist theoretical courses and thus establish some compulsory and most of the noncompulsory courses. For example, we plan to let the Department of International Economics and the Department of Economic Management cooperate in teaching the courses on the theory on imperialism and on contemporary capitalism, and to have the teachers of the Department of Philosophy, and the Research Office of the History of Natural Sciences, and the Natural Dialectics Research Office, and some science teachers cooperate in teaching the course concerning the philosophical problems in natural dialectics and natural sciences. Some of the university party and administrative cadres will also take part in the work of teaching. For example, the university president will take part in teaching the philosophical problems in natural sciences, and a vice president will give lessons on basic problems of Chinese revolution.

Improving and strengthening the teaching of the Marxist theoretical courses in our institutions of higher education is a very significant and fairly complicated work. We have therefore only put forward a tentative program of reform in the light of the situation in our university and made some preparations for its trial implementation. We will continue to sum up our experience and improve this program in the process of its trial implementation.

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WHAT ADJUSTMENTS SHOULD BE MADE IN CONSUMER GOODS PRODUCTION TO SUIT CHANGES  
IN THE CONSUMPTION STRUCTURE IN THE SEVENTH 5-YEAR PLAN PERIOD?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 pp 45-46

[Article by Hong Jiahe [3163 0163 0735] and Yu Weidong [0205 5588 2639]]

[Text] Consumption structure refers to expenditures made by people for food, clothing, utensils, housing, travel, and so forth within a fixed period and the proportion these constitute within total expenditures. During the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, what changes are going to occur in our nation's consumption structure? The results of the implementation of the Sixth 5-Year Plan show that income levels and consumption levels of our nation's urban and rural populations have greatly increased. The problem of feeding and clothing 1 billion people has been basically solved. On this basis, following the development of production during the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the people's consumption will begin to change from a level of having enough to eat and wear toward a comfortably well-off level. In accordance with this development trend, changes in consumption demand and the consumption structure will have the following characteristics:

1. Basic livelihood consumption will remain the major element in people's consumption, but requirements for better quality consumer goods will continually increase. Seen from a national level, the problem of providing the people with food and clothing has only just been resolved, and the demand for those products necessary for life is still only being barely met. During the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the people, while having their basic means of livelihood satisfied, will gradually move toward better consumer product quality. For example, they will stress food nutrition, require good-looking, quality clothes, and demand brand-name, high-quality, daily-use products. In general, the demand for medium- and high-grade consumer products will increase considerably.
2. Consumer demand will tend toward diversity. After ensuring the satisfaction of the basic means of livelihood necessary for existence, people's consumption requirements will gradually develop in an all-round way. They will gradually come to demand more enjoyment and development. Consumption, in terms of cultural matters and labor saving, will increase. For example, the demand for medium- and high-grade durable consumer goods for use in culture and entertainment, science and technology, education, travel, and livelihood services will increase.

3. The consumption structure will see further changes. During the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, because of further increases in the income level of the population and the gradual implementation of the policy of making housing a commodity, the proportion of the people's expenditures on food and clothing will decrease and the proportion spent on utensils, housing, labor saving, and cultural life will increase. At the same time, changes will also occur in the internal consumption structures for food, clothing, and utensils. For example, in the food consumption structure, the proportion spent on staple foods will decrease, while the proportion spent on meat, eggs, milk, beer, other beverages, and processed foods will increase. As for consumption funds spent on utensils, the proportion spent on daily-use products will decrease, while the proportion spent on medium- and high-grade durable consumer goods will increase.

4. Rural commodity consumption will continue to expand. In the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, following the further development of the rural commodity economy, the peasant's livelihood consumption will gradually change from self-sufficiency or semi-self-sufficiency to commodity consumption. Thus, the proportion of self-sufficiency consumption will decrease.

5. The consumption structure will be many leveled. Because various areas are not equal in terms of economic development, the income disparity between areas on the coast and areas in the hinterland, between mountainous areas and plains areas, and between urban and rural areas obviously will not change during the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. By implementing the policies of opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy and further implementing the reform principle of distribution according to work, we have overcome egalitarianism, and differences between incomes have gradually widened. Different levels of income will inevitably mean various levels of consumer demand, which will result in a consumption structure consisting of various levels.

In accordance with the above-mentioned changes which will occur in consumption and the consumption structure, during the Seventh 5-Year Plan we will need to make readjustments in the following aspects of our nation's current industrial structure:

1. We must readjust the internal structure of agriculture. We must place great stress on the production of grain and continue to maintain its stable growth. With this precondition, we must speed the development of animal husbandry, fishery, aquatics breeding, and forestry, so as to increase supplies of meat, poultry, eggs, milk, aquatic products, and fruit. In this way, we will be able to provide the material base for gradually improving the nutrition of the people of our nation.

2. We must strive to expand the production aspect of the consumer product industry and, while continuing to grasp the production of daily-use necessities, we strive to increase the production of brand-name and quality products, develop new products and new product varieties, and open up new production categories. We must turn the foodstuff industry, the clothing

industry, and the durable consumer products industry into key components, by this means spurring on the improved development of the overall consumer products industry. In order to speed up the development of the consumer products industry, we must give it priority guarantees in terms of credit, foreign exchange use, energy, and raw materials supplies and transport. We must use economic levers and gradually widen differences between the prices of brand-name superior-quality and new products, and the prices of ordinary products. We must promote the raising of product quality, increasing the number of product types, and the development of new products. We must also further readjust the production structure of heavy industry, so as to provide more and better equipment, and raw or semifinished materials for developing the consumer products industry. It is necessary to widely establish joint-operation methods whereby there are direct links between processing industries, enterprises which produce semifinished materials, and areas which produce raw materials. This will make it possible to provide processing industries with stable sources of raw and semifinished materials.

3. We must actively promote the idea of changing residences into commodities and speed the development of the construction industry so that it becomes a mainstay industry of our national economy. For a long time now, in respect to housing in cities and towns, our nation has pursued a policy of unified construction, unified allocation, and low rents. This has not been beneficial in solving our housing problems and has placed greater burdens on the state. It has also resulted in lost opportunities and lost vigor in the civil construction industry, causing the purchasing power of the urban population to be lopsidedly concentrated on consumer goods. During the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, we must further improve residential conditions and gradually expand the sale of commodity housing. In small cities, county towns, and mining areas, we should, under unified plans, encourage people to build their own houses and develop various types of housing construction methods, including building one's own house with the help of others. The civil construction industry must move to meet the demands of this situation and develop quickly. At the same time, we must pay attention to the development, diffusion, and use of new construction materials.

4. We must greatly develop livelihood service industries. In order to provide greater conveniences for people and resolve various "difficult" problems in people's lives at present, we must greatly develop the tertiary industry, increase commercial and service networks, and make great efforts to expand the range of services. It is also necessary to develop new service avenues and raise service quality. We need to strengthen the construction of urban water supplies, communications, roads, public transport, and other public facilities, so as to improve the people's living environment. At the same time, we must further develop cultural and entertainment activities so as to enrich the people's cultural lives and raise the overall quality of their lives. To do this, we must expand our policies and motivate state, local, collective and individual strengths to work together.

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WHY DO WE SAY THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF TERTIARY INDUSTRY IS AN IMPORTANT INDICATOR OF ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 pp 46-47

[Article by Bai Zhongyao [4101 0112 1031]]

[Text] Tertiary industry is a general term for various industries which provide services for social production and people's lives through certain materials, technology, and equipment (the means of production). It is a relatively independent labor sector which results from the development of the social division of labor.

In the last few decades, the rise of tertiary industry has been a common trend in the economic development of various countries in the world. According to World Bank statistics in the "1984 World Development Report," in the 23 years from 1960 to 1982, great changes occurred in the proportion tertiary industry occupies in the GNP of various countries. The low-income countries saw their tertiary industry component rise from the original 25 percent to 31 percent of GNP. Middle-income countries saw it rise from the original 46 percent to 47 percent. The high-income Western capitalist countries saw the tertiary industry component of GNP rise from the original 54 percent to 61 percent. In the United States, it grew from 58 percent to 64 percent, in England from 54 percent to 65 percent, in the FRG from 41 percent to 52 percent, in France from 50 percent to 62 percent, and in Japan from 42 percent to 54 percent. This shows that the more developed the economy, the more important the position of tertiary industry. The degree of tertiary industry development has actually become an important indicator of the level of a country's economic development.

In a modern society, economic development is characterized by high technology, high efficiency, and great benefits. Primary industry (agriculture) and secondary industry (manufacturing) must rely on the provision of many types of services by tertiary industry. Only thus will they be able to continually improve technology, raise labor productivity and improve economic results. For example, it is first required that we have skilled personnel who have mastered high-level technology and laborers with a high degree of knowledge. These laborers have to be supplied by the education departments. In the course of economic activities, scientific and technical consultancy services can continually provide new scientific and

technical results and solve difficult problems for the various economic sectors. Also, in the course of economic activities, if products are being produced, there will be two types of activities, major and auxiliary, and the whole production process will be composed of various links. In order to achieve higher efficiency and better results, some of the auxiliary activities (larger activities could include accounting, and statistical and other business accounting work and minor activities could include operating canteens, creches, and other such daily-life activities) and some links in the production process could all be managed by tertiary industry businesses which provide production and livelihood services. This will allow the people engaged in primary and secondary industry to put their major energies into the important aspects of industrial and agricultural production and into key production links. This will thus achieve the goal of raising efficiency and improving results. Also, as far as the people who engage in tertiary industry are concerned, as they will engage in specialized labor when providing services in auxiliary activities or secondary links, they will also be able to achieve higher efficiency and better economic results.

The high tide of the new technological revolution has reached throughout the world. One of the main effects of this technological revolution is the development and use of information resources. At present, the collection, management, storage, and conveyance of information and the provision of services in this regard are all managed by tertiary industry information service businesses, scientific and technological consultancy businesses and postal and telecommunications businesses. As to new technology hardware products such as electronic computers, robots, modern communications equipment, and so on, apart from a small percentage which will directly equip the tertiary industry, the other equipment when it is in use will require newly established businesses to regularly maintain and repair it. In developed countries, the majority of those people involved in tertiary industry are engaged in the creation, management, and allocation of information. The new technological revolution promotes the development of tertiary industry, while the development of tertiary industry can also promote the growth of the overall social economy.

Modern society is a society where the commodity economy has reached a high degree of development. Economic interflow between various nations is extremely brisk and the contents of this trade are fairly rich. Apart from commodity exchange through foreign trade, there is also interflow in terms of funds, technology, information, and various types of services. Accompanying the economic interflow between countries is the development of friendly relations between the people of these countries. Economic activities of tertiary industry are not only a part of the commodity economy but are mainly concerned with serving the commodity economy. Commerce, foreign trade, freight, finance, insurance, and such industries directly serve commodity exchange. Hotels, tourism, transport, food and beverages, entertainment and other livelihood service industries also serve the exchange of commodities by creating conditions for the people to engage in economic interchange and by providing communications, and information and by providing a fine environment for daily life. Thus, in a modern society where the commodity economy has reached a high degree of development, the

development of tertiary industry has become a symbol of a nation's economic prosperity.

The level of the people's material and cultural lives also continually rises when there is a high degree of economic and technological development. In a society where an agricultural economy plays the main role, the people can only obtain the means of livelihood necessary for maintaining life, that is they are only able to satisfy their needs in terms of clothing, food, housing, and transport. In a society where the industrial economy plays the main role, major industry creates a wealth of material goods for the society and there are greater demands in the lives of the people. The demands are not just for simple subsistence, but for enjoyment and development. Not only are there demands for prosperity and enrichment in the people's material lives, but also demands for enrichment in their spiritual lives. At the same time, in swift, lively modern life, tedious home duties have become a heavy burden for laborers. They require the removal of such home burdens, so that they have more time for work, study, enjoyment, and rest. These demands can all be met by tertiary industry. Thus as tertiary industry provides more and better services in people's lives, it manifests an increasing level of economic and social development.

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THE UNIQUE IMAGE OF A MOTHER--TALKING ABOUT THE NOVEL 'MOTHER'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 p 48

[Article by Wu Songting [0702 2646 0080]]

[Text] A reading of Wei Junxuan's novel "Mother and Son" (published in XIAOSHUOJIE: CHANGPIAN XIAOSHUO [FICTION CIRCLES: NOVELS], No 2, 1984) gave me a fresh impression. A landlord's concubine breaks away from the fetters of feudal family and embarks on the new path of revolution together with her children. This is a unique image of a mother, which is rare in our literature.

However, it is a true and convincing image. It is the consequence of the shocking effect of the struggle of resistance against Japan that Shen Mingzhen breaks away from the camp of the exploiting class. "People and groups moving from one side to the other are not only possible but even inevitable in every period of major social 'turbulence.'" ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 21, p 131) This is what is new in the theme of this work.

As a revolutionary mother, Shen Mingzhen obviously lacks the instinct to protect the interests of her class, an instinct that Gorky's (Nirovna) has. Nor does she have any natural relationship with the revolution as the mother in the novel "Bitter Cauliflower" has. Therefore, of course it is very difficult for her to follow the path of revolution. She not only has to fight a struggle between control and decontrol against Cui Futing, a representative of the feudal force, in order to win back her human dignity and freedom of action; but she has also to break away from the fetters of feudal patriarchal ideas, ethics and tradition and the force of old habits and experience. This is a bitter process of self-transformation. The efforts to break away from the latter fetters are even more difficult to make than those to overcome the hindrance of the former force. Therefore, her complicated personality is revealed in her attitude toward progressive activities, Qionghua's marriage, the disposal of the money and property of the grocery store, and the giving up of a comfortable family life. She has a strong character but can also stoop to compromise. It is not until she has entirely severed her relations with the old world that she really completes the transformation of her stand and thoughts. But, after all, she becomes a firm underground worker. This proves fully the party's profound political influence and the tremendous appeal of the revolution.



In the novel, Shen Mingzhen is depicted as an ordinary revolutionary. She works and silently dedicates herself. Through instance after instance in her common work, we see her noble character, fine sentiment, and spirit of self-sacrifice. With great enthusiasm, she took part in the national salvation propaganda work, carefully set up a bookshop, resourcefully screened the party's secret meeting, and encouraged with her deep emotion her youngest daughter to go to Yanan. In particular, she does not waver in her faith in the revolution even in the face of a series of calamities, when her son Lihua dies for the revolution, the party's underground organization is disrupted, and she is in great financial difficulty. On the contrary, she expresses great contempt toward the opportunists who try to find a way of retreat after Japan's surrender, resolutely rejects Cui Futing's lenience and Zhang Xiaoming's and Fang Heyin's request for her company in their later years, and thus shows her noble character as an ordinary CPC member. Shen Mingzhen's character and spirit are enough to be regarded as an example for posterity, particularly for the youths who are working on common posts.

While depicting Shen Mingzhen's life, the novel "Mother and Son" describes broad scenes of the times and the society in rich colors, including the different ideal that the youths then pursued and their diverse thoughts. Shen Mingzhen is affected by the youth and vitality of the progressive young people. At the same time, she sincerely helps to fund their activities to pursue the truth and carry out revolution. What is particularly moving is that she can make allowances for the youths in difficulty, including those who waver for a time and those who take flight. This is what a radical finds hard to accept, but the work in this area is useful for the revolution and it can provide the errant people an opportunity to reform. Shen Mingzhen's sense of responsibility for the revolution and love as a mother move the hearts of the youths who are hesitating and remorseful and enable them to correct their errors and make their youth shine again. It is because of her motherly teaching that Yu Qing returns to the ranks of revolution and dies heroically. Therefore, the writer has described Shen Mingzhen as an image of a revolutionary mother with profound connotation.

The book "Mother and Son" is good for its minute and simple description. It successfully depicts Shen Mingzhen's graceful bearing and innermost being. However, the efforts to provide a minute description are sometimes boring and give the impression of overdoing. This shortcoming is perhaps unexpected for the writer himself. For it is a shortcoming that coexists with an advantage.

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## THE 'THREE MAJOR DISCOVERIES' AND MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 85 inside back cover

[Article by Xu Jianyi [6079 1696 0001]; first paragraph is RED FLAG note]

[Text] Since the publication of the article entitled "The Genesis and Significance of Systems Theory" in issue No 4 this year, some readers have written to us to express the view that the establishment of Darwin's theory of evolution took place later than that of dialectical materialism, therefore, we lack ground to say that the former was a natural scientific foundation for the latter. In this issue, we publish Comrade Xu Jianyi's short article on his personal views on this question to provide reference material for our readers.

Were the three discoveries in natural science (the law of conservation and transformation of energy, the theory on cells, and Darwin's theory of evolution) the natural scientific foundation for Marxist theory? The answer should be in the affirmative. It is perhaps inappropriate to give a negative answer on the ground that Darwin established his theory of evolution later than the establishment of Marxist dialectical materialism. It is not necessarily correct to mechanically define a certain time of establishment for a theory that is a major ideological achievement of epoch-making significance. Precisely like dialectical materialism which took a period of time to establish, it also took a period of time to establish Darwin's theory of evolution.

It was Chevalier de Lamarck who first put forward the theory of evolution in the early 19th century. Engels held that the basic theory of evolution was established in the 1830's and 1840's. He pointed out: "In the viewpoints of the scientists who made relatively deep efforts to research the fossils of organisms, the foundation has long been silently laid for the theory of evolution." "This indeed took place long before Darwin published his works." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 643) According to Darwin himself, his evolutionist thought was established as far back as at the end of the 1830's. He said: "The delay in publishing this book of mine from 1839 when the whole theory was established, to 1859, benefited me in many ways!" ("Autobiography of Darwin," p 71) In the period from 1839 to 1859, the year when the book "Origin of the Species" was published, some of Darwin's research achievements about the thought of evolution were

published one by one and translated into German, French and other languages and spread in the countries concerned. From this we can see that we lack sufficient grounds to decide that Darwin's theory of evolution was established later than the establishment of dialectical materialism and thus deny that the theory was a natural scientific foundation for dialectical materialism.

In the early 1840's, Engels had made a relatively profound study of and had a fairly good command of the development of natural science as a whole. In 1844, he pointed out: Natural science "sums up the scattered and casual achievements in our past history and discloses their inevitability and internal relations. The mess of countless data of knowledge was sorted out and thus became orderly and classified and had a relation of causality." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 656-657) Even if Marx and Engels both failed to make direct research into the three discoveries in the 1840's, this does not constitute any ground for us to deny that the three major discoveries were the foundation of the Marxist theory. For philosophy is the cream of an era and it has to sum up the contemporary natural scientific research achievements. There is a mutual dialectic relation between philosophy and natural science and they are linked with each other through many channels. For example, since the establishment of the theory of evolution, its interactive relationship with philosophy has never been severed. Even if the crystal of the theory was not directly absorbed by Marx and Engels into their dialectical materialism, it was certainly absorbed into the works of other philosophers and then absorbed by Marx and Engels.

The whole process of the development of natural science proves that there is a close and inseparable relation between philosophy and natural science. In the history of the development of natural science, some major scientific issues were often put forth by philosophers and then answered in detail by natural scientists after some time. The development of the theory of evolution was precisely such a phenomenon of the development of science. The buds of the ideas on evolutionism emerged among philosophers as far back as at the time of ancient Greece and Rome. At the time of the Renaissance in Europe, the theory of evolution was again put forth. "It mainly emerged in the works of philosophers (such as Francis Bacon, Rene Descartes, Gottfried Leibniz, and Immanuel Kant)." (Danprier [0030 4122 1422]: "History of Science," p 370) At the same time, scientists gradually researched the facts. When great achievements were made in developing the theory of evolution in the 18th and 19th centuries, philosopher Georg Hegel showed great interest in it. Though he was a dialectical idealist and described evolution as an evolution of ideas, anyway, Hegel made a philosophical summing up of the theory of evolution and the theory of evolution provided "proof in practice" for Hegel's dialectics. (Engels' words) The establishment of the Marxist philosophy did not and could not sever this relation between philosophy and natural science. On the contrary, it took shape by absorbing the fine achievements of the culture of the human race and through this relation. We can neither deviate from the trunk road of the development of human civilization to understand the establishment of the Marxist philosophy, nor can we ascribe the establishment of a theory to

the casual discovery by a gifted person. Only by so doing can we have a dialectical understanding that conforms to history, on the relations between the establishment of the Marxist theory and the three major discoveries and other major scientific achievements.

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END